THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

February 7, 1948

"RIOTING" STUDENTS

AN EDITORIAL

Shantung And The War's Future

Michael Keon

The Shameen Incident

Jack James

With The French In Indo-China

Andrew Roth

SOME AMERICAN VIEWS

AN EDITORIAL

VOLUME 108 CNC$20,000 NUMBER 10

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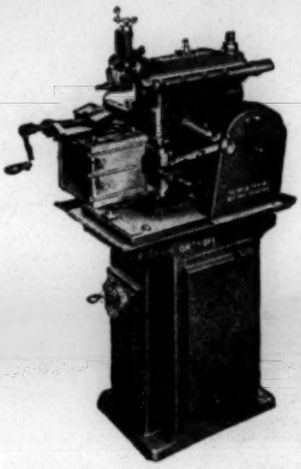

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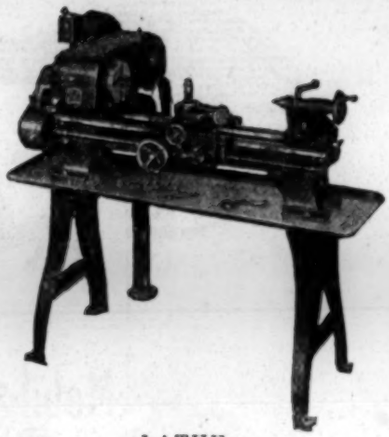

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—HENRY BROUGHAM.

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

The Coffin Nail

To The Editor:

The publication by Hongkong's government of a decree restricting the export of Chinese products like tea, wolfram, wood-oil and a few other items, indicates that the British have no intention of taking strong measures against the Kuomintang's policy of undermining the Colony's authority and prosperity. Such self-denial laws are causing Hongkongites more losses and no benefit. The little that a few Chinese could salvage here, when the whole of China is being drained for mass slaughtering, will also go for cannon fodder.

Constant blockading and sabotage by Kuomintang agents have already made Hongkong business bankrupt. Only a few refugee capitalists and ex-collaborationists, how favorities of the new regime, are able to keep on their feet. Two or three leading banks, holding mortgages on most of the godown cargoes, also prosper in the midst of bankruptcy.

Hongkongites' misery will be intensified by the report of a determined British Far Eastern Munich. The papers already inform us that with the signing of a China-Hongkong Anti-Smuggling Agreement, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's secret agents will have the authority to operate in the center of Hongkong and Kowloon.

It implies that hereafter the Gestapo forces will have as much freedom here as they have in Nanking and Shanghai to snatch away persons they are after.

The Chinese Maritime Customs in Kowloon is already involved. A few weeks ago, one, Li Chung-mun, was searched and frightened in Kowloon. Agents of the Chinese Maritime Customs seized from Li 85 taels of gold, and, ignoring the elementary procedure of any civilized nation, confiscated the gold. The *China Mail* has published a few letters protesting the fascistic operation in the Colony.

However, the Chinese Maritime Customs has consistently ignored the protests. Nor does the British government have the nerve to insist on its sovereign rights in its own territory.

The seizure and summary confiscation of Li Chung-mun's gold bars by the Chinese Maritime Customs is but the signal for more arrests and Shanghaiing by China's secret agents in Hongkong.

Over 1,500 of General Cheng Kai-min's OGPU and Gestapo agents are understood to be in Hongkong. They are not after the Nazi remnants, as many of them are Nazi-trained. They are not brave enough to deal with the Communists who are unscrupulous and strong enough for retaliation. Moreover, many of the Blueshirts, have Communist leanings themselves as they were educated in Russia.

The prospective victims of these Blueshirts are pro-Anglo-American liberals. The Blueshirts will use American arms and money to threaten the safety of such democratic exiles in a British Colony.

What irony this is! Walter Judd, Henry Luce and Co. are actually accomplices in the murder of pro-American idealists, not only in China, but also in foreign countries. They, Walter Judd, Henry Luce and Co., are actually being un-American by claiming to defend

THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

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(Editor & Publisher, 1918-1947)

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Americanism and destroying un-American activities.

In every street and residential district in Hongkong, the Blueshirts are seen shadowing people. The Gestapo is still recruiting new hands, while Washington is told that China's finance is in a hopeless situation.

Washington and Wall Street are expected to pay the murderers and shadowers of pro-American Chinese refugees in Hongkong.

From the standpoint of practical politics and diplomacy, Truman, Marshall and Vandenberg may be interested to know that China's pro-American liberals may, too, be forced to fight and fight bravely.

Nationalist China's nationwide anti-British movement in connection with the Kowloon City eviction is obviously in conformance with the Blueshirts' policy and technique of undermining British authority. There is a story that the Generalissimo has already demanded the extradition and punishment of Chinese political refugees, other than the Reds, in Hongkong. True, the Communists' front-men, the Third Party and National Salvation Group, are now dominating Marshal Li Chi-sen's Kuomintang and the Chinese Democratic League in Hongkong. But there are many others—really democratic—who do not always speak the Kremlin's language.

Moreover, it is childish for the Kuomintang to raise the question of sovereignty on Kowloon City without taking into consideration the elementary concepts of international law in dealing with Hongkong. The Kuomintang did not respect British sovereignty when the extra-territorial election was set up in Hongkong; when Chung-mun's gold bars were seized and confiscated in Kowloon by the Chinese Maritime Customs; and when terroristic agents of Yang Chi-pu and Shen Chi-shing were protecting big collaborators and blackmailing small traitors.

For putting a nail in the coffin of China's democratic movement, the taking-over of Hongkong by the ruling clique of the Kuomintang is necessary and advantageous. Is it wise for London and Washington to hold the same view?

SHAO CHUN-SHU.

Hongkong,
January 18, 1948.

Staunch Fighter

To The Editor:

I read with great sympathy Mr. Ever High Yang's letter in the January 24 issue of your *Review* after his long silence and am glad to know that he is safe and well in Hangchow.

From his writings I can see that Mr. Yang is not only a very cultured man but also a staunch fighter for democracy, the very thing which the present rulers of China dread and hate. I regret that Mr. Yang did not let us know about his sickness earlier. I believe that among the readers of your *Review*, there are many who share the views of Mr. Yang, who would be proud to be friends of Mr. Yang and will gladly help him during such hard time as the one he just had.

I myself am an engineer and would like to see China marching forward on the road to industrialization. However, I do not dream that the industrialization of China can be realized simply by wiping out the "bandits" as our government has claimed. No industry can be developed without a market, and unless the millions of Chinese peasants can be liberated from the exploitation and oppression of the feudal landlords and government bureaucrats, there cannot be any talk of a sizable market for industrial products. This liberation will come only when the Chinese people's fight for democracy, started more than half a century ago by the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, is finally won. May Mr. Yang live in better health and work harder for the welfare of the Chinese people!

J. B.

Nanking,
January 26, 1948.

Know Thyself

To The Editor:

I am a university graduate, having been trained to think and stick to the point. When I was studying in university, I often dreamed of a prosperous future for my motherland, for I firmly believed that human intelligece and wisdom, with the help of scientific knowledge, would be instrumental in promoting better understanding among human beings and making this world united.

But, I am now cruelly disappointed by the present chaos and the poor future prospects. I can never feel at peace till I find out the source of the misery, nor will my youthful passion cool, till I find a way out.

Through historical study we come to understand that the evolution of human beings lies in the transformation from the blind human struggle for existence, into a conscious, well-aimed effort for a free and cheerful society. But, although we want a better world to live in, we fail to realize that this globe upon which we live is too small for hostility between nations. Unless we have mutual understanding and respect, we cannot achieve a sound, worthwhile, living Arcady for human activities.

The underlying cause of this blindness of the majority of the human race to the historical truth, I have found, is unwillingness to understand one's self. It is bitter to have to endure the blows of our fate. But it is still more bitter for the average man to stand face-to-face with the cold "truth," before which man becomes powerless and pitiful. And the more he thinks of it, the more unbearable is the torment. We hear frequently the complaints of the people: "Oh! If I were only innocent and free from trouble!" instead of "I will endeavor to analyze the cause and effect and act according to my conscience." It is the old habit of our nation to hide ourselves in the cave of ignorance so as to lessen the degree of our sufferings.

As a result, the physically stronger and intelligent few begin to decide the fate of the whole human race. As these few represent only their own class interest, the inevitable consequence comes to light. Therefore, this flight away from any attempt to understand things as they stand is first of all to be blamed on our living in so miserable a world today.

In the 20th century, many voluntary truth-loving scientists with their brilliant discoveries, have moved many of us away from magic and superstition, to applaud scientific progress. But the unwillingness to understand ourselves, as I see it, remains the same, though we have suffered enough from our stupidity. In short, in order to lead a better life, the majority of the human race must be awakened from its ignorance. Until this is done, the efforts of a few, far-sighted prophets hardly count much.

Finally I would like to call the attention of my generation, which is trained to think scientifically and to feel as socially-minded as our youthful warmth demands, to the above-mentioned point. I hope we all come to the same conclusion: that the unwillingness to understand things, especially human affairs is the first thing to be fought.

APPEAL TO REASON.

Shanghai,
January 27, 1948.

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Tung Chi Strike

To The Editor:

Knowing that you have a strong sense of justice, I would like to inform you of a dirty, arbitrary trick occurring in our school, the National Tung Chi University. I hope earnestly that you will publish this letter so as to enable the reading public to see the truth of the whole affair.

The National Tung Chi University, like many schools in China, has a Student Self-Governing Body, which is reorganized every term by general election. The procedure is, first, to elect three or four representatives from every class, then, from these class representatives to elect 21 persons as members of the Executive Committee of the Student Self-Governing Body. The general election for this term took place on January 13 and the new students' body was formed on the same day.

The school authorities, however, refused to recognize this new students' body and insisted on having it reorganized according to the "Revised Regulations for Students' Self-Governing Bodies," issued by the Ministry of Education on December 9, 1947, i.e., the members of the Executive Committee of the Students' body should be appointed by the school authorities. Moreover, our President wanted us to form an individual Student Self-Governing Body for each college, instead of one for the whole school. His aim is to split the students' force. Seeing it clearly, we 3,000 students, despite the pressure imposed upon us by the school, decided to support the new students' body. We are against dictatorship, conspiracy and dividing the students; we want democracy and freedom.

On January 14, the school authorities suddenly dismissed two students, Ho Chang Sheng, chairman of the past "Winter Relief Campaign," and Tu Shou-pai, chairman of the former Student Self-Governing Body. On January 15, we students as a whole demanded that the President withdraw his dismissal order. Instead, he dismissed another five students. Upon this action, we students could not but call a strike in protest. We cannot back down to dictatorship. We fight against it not only for ourselves, but also on behalf of all Chinese students.

On January 21, another four students, all members of the new students' body, were dismissed. Meantime, the President threatens us by saying that if we refuse to go back to class, he will send for the police force to deal with us.

Now the situation in this school has come to a deadlock. The school authorities stick to their dictatorship and the students firmly want democracy. There is no other way for the students to take.

I wonder what "Democracy" means? At the beginning of the so-called "constitutional year," we have been deprived of the basic rights of human beings.

J. H.

Shanghai,
January 24, 1948.

Nanyo Strike

To The Editor:

On the morning of December 11, an extra of "Justice," a college wall paper, was posted, bearing the news that Dr. P'i, President of the National Teachers College, had been rebuffed in his negotiations with the Ministry Of Education. The wall-paper thus called the seriousness of the situation to the attention of the students.

This was like flinging a stone into a body of still water. Immediately a great number of slogans and declarations were posted. Some urged a strike and denounced Mr. Chu Chia-hua, Education Minister, as the deadly enemy of higher normal education and the College. Some classes actually walked out. At lunch, a representative of the sophomore class of the Department of Education made a speech in the dining hall, calling for a general strike. The whole school was in a state of unrest. At two in the afternoon, representatives of the faculty held a meeting to admonish the students to take less drastic steps. But the students' plenum voted for a strike, and the next day the strike began.

Ever since the founding of this school nine years ago, there has never been a strike against the Education Minister. Whatever the demands, they have always been made in a law-abiding and moderate manner. However, the school has been the battle-ground for a feud which has been raging over the question of whether to move the college to Nanking or remain here in Nanyo, where it has been located for the last two years.

Two years ago, following President Liau's discomfort over the nationwide meeting on higher education, the students formed a committee to promote the move to Nanking and the extension of the school to a university. Despite the chairman of this committee swearing that he would rather be killed than have the school moved anywhere but Nanking, the College was actually moved to Nanyo. One year elapsed and the resignation of President Liau caused the resumption of this committee's activities. Five student representatives were sent to Nanking to appeal to the Education Minister. But there was no strike and nothing was settled.

At the nationwide meeting, there was a rule passed that teachers, training institutes should be moved from large cities. This may be very well in modern countries, but in China few can escape becoming stale in secluded areas. On the mountain of Nanyo, the National Teachers College is rather like a monastery for ascetics, secure from the turmoil of political unrest and modern life. Another reason for the clamor to move to Nanking is that despite a not very low cost of living in Nanyo the student allowance is third class. Even efforts to raise the allowance have not been successful. As Lu-Shin said, "a Chinese landlord will, under no condition, be persuaded to open a window unless you threaten to break in the roof." If the Minister were to offer a compromise the students would be satisfied, but all their complaints have been ignored and so they could no longer contain themselves.

The students are now staging their strike and, though it is hard to tell what Minister Chu will not do to break it, they are determined to see it through. For them, utter ruin is preferable to a dog's life. What they are denied and what they are striving for is nothing more than a college worthy of the name and in which they may study.

It is now four days since the strike began and their long sufferings make them impatient to be heard. Who knows but that the Minister will not conjure up a "red hat" (戴紅帽子) for them and make a speedy end to the National Teachers College?

WILLIAM Y. SHIH.

Nanyo, Hunan,
January 18, 1948.

NETHERLANDS NEWS LETTER

Volume II, No. 5

containing:

INDONESIA, HISTORY AND GROWTH.

A few copies of this publication can be obtained on request at the Netherlands Consulate-General, 9 Quai de France, Shanghai.

"Liberty Or Death"

To The Editor:

During the French Revolution, when the revolutionists strove to overthrow their monarchic regime, "Liberty or Death" was the watchword in the French people's fight for democracy. Under this slogan, the French people accomplished their purpose within a short time. These words have proved their power.

Indeed this watchword is like the lamp of God which lights the dark, as well as the lamp of Democracy which arouses the people of the world to fight for peace and freedom.

When many countries are under fire and many people have been deprived of their freedom, I appeal to all the people of the world to keep in mind this powerful watchword: "Liberty or Death."

WU PAO-KUANG.

Canton,
January 24, 1948.

Against Co-Education

To The Editor:

One of the outstanding mistakes that Chinese reformers often make is their proneness to copy indiscriminately American and European systems. For example, the Chinese have adopted the co-education system which in my mind, is not good at all for our country. Boys and girls usually fall in love with one another, with the result that their health is destroyed and their studying is greatly affected. This has become a very dangerous thing in China today.

I am a student myself and also one of those who have failed in studying well in school on account of the above cause. I think higher education for women is desirable but I do not think it is wise to change the separated education system into a co-education system.

In the past year, some good Chinese educators who know the defects of co-education, advocated the adoption of separate education for boys and girls. But it has not been carried out because of lack of funds.

Under present conditions, when China is in great need of useful men and women, the adoptation of separate education is especially necessary.

LO SAN-CHANG.

Yenchow, Chekiang,
January 18, 1948.

Mammon Worshippers

To The Editor:

Having been a teacher in a middle school for several months, I have decided to leave this school within a few days.

I have been like a wretched horse which receives insufficient fodder after serving its master well. As I often cannot get my salary on time, I have to be very thrifty. I have to do my own laundry, to mend my clothes, and possess only one pair of shoes which is already worn out. I dare not jump or run, to say nothing of playing football. One afternoon when I took a walk around the school building, one of my shoes suddenly fell apart. As it was several hundred meters away from my bedroom, I did not know what to do. I sat down where I was, waiting for some students or school boys who happened to pass by. But no one came to my relief and the bell for supper rang. I could not miss my supper, so I rushed back to my room with one of my feet bare. Some girl students saw me on my way back and laughly loudly. Thus this story spread like wild fire all over the school.

One of my colleagues told me that our situation is not the worst. He once taught in a school for a whole semester but received only two months' salary.

However, many private school authorities are rich. Their aim in establishing a school is to make money and acquire a reputation. They are hypocrites, too. They pretend to believe in God, but in reality they worship Mammon. From them I understand better this sentence from the Bible: "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God."

L. T. R.

Chiuchow, Chekiang,
January 22, 1948.

Follow Wallace

To The Editor:

I would like to reply to your editorial in the January 10 issue on "American Imperialism???" as follows:

1. All Americans should try to have a liberal attitude toward China. China is an awakening nation. Many Americans are so selfish that they think anything pertaining to China must be in the interests of the US. As to the China aid program, it is simply to help America, not China. Although Vandenberg wants to help China unconditionally, his aim is anti-Soviet. The United States persists in prolonging the war in every way so that it all seems incurable.

2. Educated Chinese know what China needs. They want China to be an independent nation without any outside influence, except on good-will terms. Contrary to this, the United States Government does things to increase the hardship of the Chinese people, particularly the intellectuals and the civil servants, who are suffering from the prolonged Civil War.

3. As to the businessmen, they want to have trade conditions favorable to the Americans, not to the Chinese. Thus, the aid question is simply one of selfishness. But beware, such kind of aid brings insecurity to America. It is a bottomless drain to the American people and a hardship to the Chinese masses.

4. The US Government has power, but not wisdom and righteousness, which is a bad thing. All the American politicians and military experts are not wise or kind-hearted, but they have great power over the good Americans. Many Americans have fallen into the pit of blindness and selfishness of the capitalists.

If the Americans can all follow Mr. Henry Wallace's idea to stop the war here and give genuine help to China, I think even the Communists would not dare to raise objections. Other answers I think you can find in an article by Chin Fung, entitled, "American Aid: To What Avail?"

DAVID SUN.

Hongkong,
January 23, 1948.

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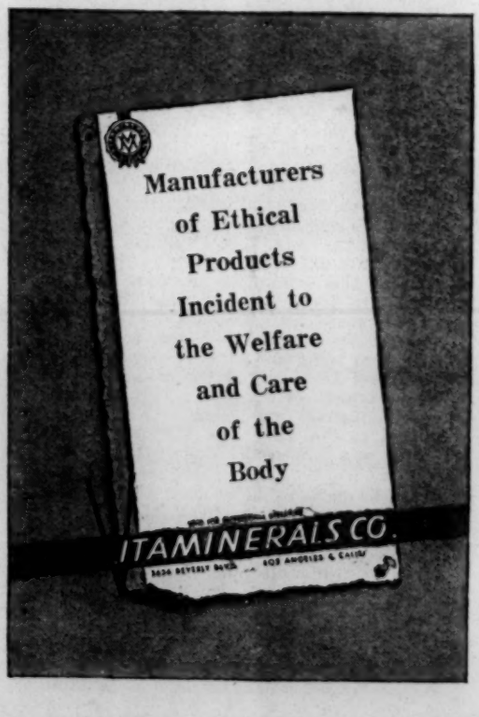

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Voice Of The Masses

To The Editor:

A thousand thanks to J. M. C. of Shanghai, through whose kindness, I have received the free subscription to your *Review* for six months.

Formosa is supposed to be a paradise in this world, but I feel stale over here. The cost of living is high, though the present exchange rate is only CNC$90 to TW$1. After half a century under the squeeze of the Japs, every Formosan-Chinese is longing for a free and better life.

I am thirsty for knowledge. The *Review* now helps me a great deal. I am especially impressed by its "Letters from the People" column in which one can hear the true voice of the masses.

Y. C. CHEN.

Taipei, Formosa,
January 12, 1948.

Catholic Arms

To The Editor:

Having read Father Francis Legrand's article, "Is This Religious Freedom?" and a letter from a "Sorrowful Reader" in the January 12 issue of the *Review*, I have a few words to say as a non-partisan reader.

For a time, I was a student in a Catholic Middle School affiliated with Fu Jen University. Because of my association with many catholics there, I know a few ugly facts about Catholic Missions which I feel should be passed on to your readers.

Nominally, Catholicism is a religion. As we know, religion should be concerned primarily with the spiritual guidance and growth of individuals, and should be independent of politics and the military. However, Catholicism seems to be an exception. During the occupation of the Japanese, both the vice-president and vice-principal of our school were German Fathers. After Japan was defeated, these two men were quickly replaced with others of Allied nationality.

The well-known Tsung Li Slaughter Event was called the shedding of innocent catholic blood by the Communists. Actually, it was incited by catholic arms. I know this to be true, for I am a native of Chi-ching, Chahar. These same catholic arms are now joined with KMT arms in fighting the Civil War, and a certain prominent priest is a leader in this war.

From a political point of view, Catholicism is traditionally anti-communistic. This, I think, must be due to the natural contradictions between feudalism and communism. It is not a contradiction between right and wrong, for who can say feudalism is right?

Such a religion, a "colored" religion, cannot hope to enjoy the freedom of other, less grasping religions in the Liberated Areas.

C. H.

Changsha, Honan,
January 25, 1948.

Ex-Officer's Complaint

To The Editor:

I am quite impressed by C. J. S.'s "Vocational Training For Veterans" published in the January 10 issue of the *Review*. As Mr. C. said, "the plan of the Government for training demobilized army officers for private business has failed thoroughly." As one of the students of the said school, I would like to ask the Government to pay more attention to the 843 students' future as well as their present conditions.

I was demobilized in September, 1946, and entered this institute in 1947. When this school was first established, General Wong, our Vice-commander, suggested to the Ministry of National Defence that a budget of CNC$6,000,000,000 monthly be allotted for this school. But some big shot in the said Ministry thought that it would be a burden to the Ministry of Finance and that it would be sufficient for the school to start with this sum. So the school received only this amount and is not supposed to receive any more money.

Dear Editor! Under present conditions how can the school carry on with only CNC$6,000,000,000? It is said that the school will continue to have a second training class. On behalf of my schoolmates, I hope it is not a rumor. But it is also said that the money allotted to this school has already been spent.

This school has established a canning mill, and a drying and salting mill, but it has no leather or cod-liver oil mill. It also has hired a couple of ships which are making a profit of more than CNC$400,000,000 per month. There is no place in the school, however, for fresh-water fish and salt-water fish experiments.

Mr. Tso Shun-sheng, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry gave us a lecture several months ago. He said: "Don't worry about your future, I will ask the Executive Yuan to pay more attention to you."

But months have gone since Mr. Tso's kind speech to us. But what attention have we had?

CHENG CHI.

Shanghai,
January 19, 1948.

Kashmir Problem

To The Editor:

Recent events have clearly shown that Kashmir and the Indian Union have narrowly escaped falling into a trap organized by certain people who claimed to support the Pakistan government.

With the establishment of the dominions of India and Pakistan in August, 1947, the Kashmir state lapsed into an undefined constitutional position, for it did not accede to either of the dominions. Under the June 3 statement by Britain regarding India, the states were free to join either dominion. However, it was not stated whether the rulers or the people of the states were to make the choice. The government of India repeatedly declared that in the matter of accession of states, the wishes of the people should prevail, but the Pakistan government took a contradictory stand. The ruler of Kashmir entered into an agreement with Pakistan but could not make up his mind to join either dominion. Accession to the India Union would have meant an end to his autocratic rule and the establishment of a popular government. Joining Pakistan would have made his position as Hindu ruler in a state based upon the religious fanaticism of the Muslim League rather precarious.

Shaikh Abdulla, who the autocratic Kashmir leader put in prison, and his National Conference Party declared that the people could make a free choice of dominion only after a government responsible to the people was established in the state. The Pakistan government, instead of aiding the popular will, tried to obstruct them by igniting communal warfare through the Muslim League. Moreover, they were dismayed over the prospect of the Kashmir people, who, in spite of being 80 percent Muslim, joining the India Union with which they had very close economic ties. Thus, they violated their agreement with Kashmir by refusing to send grain, sugar and petrol.

Furthermore, we find that during the month of September, large bands of tribesmen from the Northwest, fully equipped with modern weapons, and well-organized by Pakistan ex-servicemen marched through Pakistan territory and invaded Kashmir. These raiders committed all sorts of depradations, and by the end of October, had ravaged a large part of Jammu and were threatening Srinager, the capital of the state.

Under a popular government, formed by Abdulla, the Kashmir people with the help of Indian troops, have driven the raiders from the Kashmir valley and have also cleared a large part of Jammu Province. The remaining forces are now concentrated in a small portion of territory in southwest Kashmir where, because of its contiguity to Pakistan, they are able to get continuous supplies and reinforcements. The terrain makes it difficult for Indian troops to clear them out, and fighting continues with the people suffering untold miseries from the invaders.

When the Pakistan government failed to reply to appeals, by the Kashmir ruler, Shaikh Abdulla was released. Both Abdulla and the ruler appealed to the Government of India to accept the accession of the state and help repel the raiders. To save Kashmir and its people, India accepted its accession, on condition that Shaikh Abdulla form an interim government when the raiders were beaten.

While the government of India has dealt fairly with Kashmir, Pakistan has unjustly accused them of conspiracy. It is impossible to believe the charge that Kashmir has been spontaneously attacked by tribesmen, for it would be difficult for such a large body to march through extensive portions of Pakistan territory without the knowledge and approval of the administration. It is a great pity that Pakistan officials should have stooped to such tactics to force Kashmir to join Pakistan against their people's will. The government of India has pledged itself to withdraw its troops when the raiders have been driven off and to allow the people full freedom in deciding their future.

To guarantee the free expression of the will of the people, Nehru, Premier of India and one of the greatest living democrats, has proposed that a plebiscite be held in Kashmir under the supervision of the United Nations, so that the world might know that the action of the government of India has been fair and impartial. Let us hope that this problem will be solved amicably, by Pakistan agreeing to follow the will of the people of Kashmir and stop its aid to the raiders who have created a hell in "the heaven on earth"—the beautiful land of Kashmir.

V. FUMER, PH. D.
National College Of Oriental Studies.

Nanking,
January 22, 1948.

General View

To The Editor:

I am sorry that my subscription to the *Review* will soon expire and regret that I shall not be able to resume it. CNC$20,000 per copy is a little too expensive for me. But I have no idea of blaming you, as you have to get all your newsprint from the black market. I only hope that the general economic conditions will soon be improved and that we all shall be in a better situation. Until then, I will enjoy reading your *Review* in the local library.

Having been a subscriber to your *Review* for nearly one year and a reader for more than two years, I would like to give you my general view of your magazine. The "Editorial Paragraphs," "The Review's English Lesson," "What US Papers Say" and "What Chinese Papers Say" are more interesting to me. I usually read them first one after the other, when a new issue comes out; sometimes I even read them more than

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once. "Letters from the People" does not attract my attention for many expressions in it are very childish; of course, there are good faithful reports in it. I do not care very much "The Special Articles," though some of them are valuable, "The Week's Business" is of little concern to me, and "New Books of Interest" are too expensive for me to buy. "Who's Who in China" is good only for reference. I am delighted to find that it was cut down in the past few issues "25 Years Ago..." and "10 Years Ago ..." do not mean very much. Would you mind estimating the percentage of your readers who enjoy reading them?

As to your editorial policy, I cannot but say that it is independent and upright. Your ideal and zeal to build a strong, democratic and prosperous China and a better world are praiseworthy. Your point of view on various international problems is keen, realistic and farsighted. But on Chinese affairs, I should say, you seem a little pessimistic and have not sufficient confidence in the Chinese Government. Many reports about and comments on Taiwan published in your recent issues of the *Review* presented a sad picture of the beautiful island. I should like to point out that most of them are either superficial or misinterpretation.

T. S. H.

Taipeh, Taiwan,
January 22, 1948.

(Through the kindness of an American subscriber, we take pleasure in renewing Mr. H's subscription to the REVIEW for a further three months.—EDITOR).

Glossary Needed

To The Editor:

I strongly support the suggestion made by Mr. Hertz C. K. Ke in his letter published in the January 3 issue of the *Review*. The glossary of current terms is badly needed by nearly all your Chinese readers.

I also would like to propose that the section "News of the Week" be expanded to a larger size, say four pages, so as to satisfy readers at places where no English paper is published.

I hope you will favourably consider these proposals and let us know your views.

HARRISON Y. LEE.

Foochow, Fukien,
January 18, 1948.

More Suggestions

To The Editor:

Allow me to congratulate you on your English Lessons, which, undoubtedly, will be crowned with success and prove helpful to those of your readers who lack an adequate knowledge of that language. Though English is a required subject from middle school to college in China, I believe that most college graduates are unable to read English-language newspapers and magazines with any degree of understanding.

I have read all the Lessons with great pleasure, and with a view to making this page better and getting our money's worth from them, may I make the following suggestions:

First, hereafter, it would be better not to publish material such as the grammatical matter in Lessons 2 and 7, which is easily found in any schoolbook.

Second, we hope that more space will be devoted to such lessons as explain points that are difficult for Chinese students of English, and keep your readers in touch with current expressions and usages. In this respect, it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that your past lessons have done a fine job. In order to make them better, however, some essays, written in present-day English, on American habits and customs will be helpful, and will make good reading, I am sure. How can one understand a language fully, without knowing the habits and customs of the people who use it?

Third, I would suggest that you set apart a little space in every lesson to explain the new words, phrases, usages and abbreviations that are either strange to the average reader or not to be found in common dictionaries. It has been a common occurrence for many puzzled readers to write you for explanations, so why not save yourself the trouble of answering each and every one by doing this?

Fourth, I hope the *Review's* English Lessons will be published in book form one day in the future. It will certainly be welcomed by Chinese students of English who want to keep abreast of the times, and who are interested in obtaining a good grasp of English.

HSU KAN.

Chungshan, Kwangtung,
January 17, 1948.

Bright Market

To The Editor:

Mr. X wishes to go abroad, and is told that he may take with him out of this country the equivalent of US$100 in cash. He, therefore, asks Mr. Broker to procure US$100 in greenbacks for him. Mr. Broker tells him almost immediately that he must pay a certain amount in Chinese National Currency, but on checking this rate per US$1 against what is stated in the financial columns of the newspapers in Shanghai, he finds a very big discrepancy. To be sure that he is not being duped, he enquires further from Tom, Dick and Harry just what he should pay for US$100 in local money. These boys mention about the same amount as previously stated by Mr. Broker. "The rate you see in the newspaper is the bank's open market rate, and what you are required to pay actually is the black market rate. You can't get the US$100 right away from the bank at the rate stated in the newspapers, but you can have the greenbacks delivered to you within 5 minutes by almost anybody you wish to buy them from, if you pay the black market rate," say Tom, Dick and Harry.

Mr. X. naturally wonders why the one is called the "open" market, since nobody can enter it easily, and the other the "black" market, as nobody is in the dark about it. In his opinion, the latter should appropriately be called the Bright Market.

Just who is the creator of the "black" market? This is, indeed, a mystery to the ordinary man in the street. The market itself does not look black in the sense that the average person is blind about it. High-ranking and low-ranking people in town know about this market at practically any moment of the day, and nowadays it is a necessary part of the day's business of high-ranking people to pick up the telephone frequently and inquire about the price of a certain commodity. This "commodity," of course, being greenbacks or gold bars.

If the important holders of greenbacks and gold bars were willing to trade them with government banks at the rates given by the latter, there could not be such a thing as the "black" market.

However, human nature being always anxious to take more and to give less for what is desired and offered in exchange, no compromise seems easy between the Chinese government and the people in the matter of exchange so long as the latter have no confidence in the value of Chinese currency.

The so-called inflation in China is attributed to the huge government expenditure for war against the Communists, to the scarcity of commodity goods for exports, the reduction of oversea remittances, etc. Students of Chinese history know that China has not been at peace for more than a century. In this last century there have been wars with foreign powers during the scramble for concessions, the Taiping Rebellion, the Boxer Uprising, the Revolution, the campaigns against the warlords and against the Communists before the last Sino-Japanese war. Throughout the period of Sino-foreign relations, China's imports have always exceeded her exports, yet at no time before VJ Day did the people have to pay for rice the present astronomical figure, and greenbacks or gold bars were not so much treasured as they are at present.

Oversea remittances may not amount now to what they used to in the days before the Pacific War. They have not stopped altogether; they simply enter the country via irregular channels due to the existence of the "black" market. On the other hand, if what has been reported regarding the large sums of money being hoarded abroad by wealthy Chinese at home is true, then the remittances by Oversea Chinese to China must mean very little.

Obviously, there is something basically wrong with the present internal system of China which has turned life in this country topsy-turvy. One can but hope that the "black" market for essential commodities will not remain too bright for those people who wish to trade therein. Otherwise, the present terms for open market and black market should be reversed!

PAO TSU-YU.

Shanghai,
December 22, 1948.

Chinese Bullitt

To The Editor:

I read with keen interest the article entitled "American Aid to China" by a Mr. Amos Wang in the December 20, 1947, issue of the *Review*. To my great surprise, I found that there is another Mr. Bullitt of Chinese nationality.

I feel there are two different types of articles in the *Review* dealing with Chinese problems. The first type, including most of your editorials, voice the real public opinion, and are impartial and objective. The second type, few in number, are nothing but mouthpieces for the ruling class. I presume to classify Mr. Wang's articles among the latter.

Not long ago I had the pleasure of reading Mr. Wang's "A Doctor's Appeal" in the November 1, 1947, issue of the *Review*, in which he complained of the ill-treatment a doctor suffers and expressed his concern for the welfare of the public. Now I cannot but think that the "public" in his mind is only a limited number of the Chinese people, including only high ranking politicians, capitalists, landlords, and men of wealth, such as those doctors who carry on business in large cities and enjoy a high standard of living. In his present article, I found there are some absurd points which indicate that Mr. Wang has lost his former

sense of justice and has become a spokesman for those whom the Chinese lao pai hsing are going to get rid of.

After World War II, many war-devastated countries need American aid badly. China is one of these countries. But, as many have pointed out, aid to China should not have any political appendages. Aid to China should be used for the democratization of China. It seems rather queer to the Chinese people that US aid to China should be used to check the development of so-called Communism in China. It is horrible to them that American aid is given to a feudalistic regime to oppress the agrarian revolution. The majority of Chinese people, who have long been in a half-starving condition, have no reason to fear Communism or Socialism. Only a rich doctor like Mr. Wang, at the very mention of Communism, will be frightened out of his senses. Even the officials in the government call for "self-reliance." Why must China depend upon America? In Eastern Europe, many states which have not had any foreign aid are marching on the way to prosperity. China today is really "in labor," to use Mr. Wang's expression, but the "successful conclusion" of the child-birth does not necessarily depend upon the American aid.

Mr. Wang said, "...the current state of political corruption...is the result of 20 years of underpaid civil servants..." This is the very pretext under which the KMT bosses apologize for their inefficiency and inability. As a matter of fact, the heroes in the most notorious cases of corruption are the richest people in China. Mr. Wang again asked, "Is the Chinese race fundamentally dishonest?" Then he said that the Chinese race is honorable, etc. According to Mr. Wang's opinion, since the Chinese race is all right, the KMT government must be equally all right and things will turn out fine, if only American aid comes and the "bandits" are wiped out. What an absurdity! America has sent a large quantity of aid to China since VJ Day. Has that aid produced any result? Is the history of the KMT's 20 years evil-doing not long enough to wake us up from such pitiful delusions?

The KMT regime can never make up for what it has done! It will never be forgiven by the Chinese people. I don't think billions of American gold dollars can change our destiny. The people's forces are on the march and nothing can stop them. History will prove the rich doctor is wrong.

C. T. T.

Nanking,
January 18, 1948.

Filial Piety

To The Editor:

Our classics tell us that Heaven gives birth to human beings in such a way that they have one root, but filial piety and fraternal submission are the root of all mankind. So our proverb says, "Of all crimes obscenity is the worst; of all virtues filial piety is the first."

I read the editorial in the *Review* which was critical of our National Government outlawing the Democratic League and which concluded by saying, "If it succeeds, China's government may well develop into a corporate state affair. If it fails, we probably will see a totalitarian communist regime come to power within the forseeable future." Again, reading the *Review* on the Communist Party's land reform policy, in the third article of its program we note that, "Land ownership of all ancestral shrines, temples, monasteries, schools, institutions and organizations are abolished."

The two great world powers, the US and USSR, who are fostering the civil war between the KMT and Communists, must be made to deliberate this problem. Not only should these two nations be made to carry this out, but China's leading parties as well.

In this world, who is there that has no parents or grandparents or ancestors? And how much do we owe to them? What other creature in the world is as helpless as the human infant? Leave a baby to care for itself and how long can it live? How many of us would be alive today, in our earliest years, had we not been provided for and watched over with tender care? If we recognize this to be true while our parents and grand parents are alive, then why not serve them according to propriety? When they are dead, bury them according to propriety, and later give sacrifices to them according to propriety. Why not serve the departed as if they are still continuing among us? Why do we not go back to those to whom we owe our lives and give free vent to our feelings and exhaust our strength in discharging the sacrificial services every year?

All in all, the present rulers are not right, for they are more concerned with the security and safety of their territories than with the welfare of the people. Thus, I hope that the US and the USSR, as well as our party rulers, will realize that those who keep high ideals should train those who do not. Then the people will rejoice over such good rulers who are possessed of virtue and talent. If each man would love his parents and show due respect to his ancestors, then China and the world would enjoy tranquility. In order to have a noble world and a noble China we must make the people noble first.

G. S. S.

Chengtu,
January 24, 1948.

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Vol. 108 Shanghai, Saturday, February 7, 1948 No. 10

"Rioting" Students

DURING the past week Shanghai has witnessed a series of major social disturbances, and local residents have been in a constant state of jitters. The man in the street is wondering just what all this agitation and commotion is about and how things are going to turn out after all.

First there was the "student riot" at the National Tung Chi University on Thursday, January 29. In less than 48 hours, several thousand cabaret girls and employees on January 31 stormed and wrecked the offices of the Social Affairs Bureau of the Shanghai City Government. Then on February 2, 7,000 cotton mill workers, most of whom are girls, called a sit-down strike, some engaging in a hand-to-hand fight with armed police.

After each incident, hundreds of persons were arrested. It is generally estimated that so far more than 1,000 people have been placed under lock and key.

Lt.-Gen. Hsuan Tieh-wu, Commander of the Shanghai-Woosung Garrison, announced at an emergency press conference late in the night of February 2 that a standing shoot-to-kill order has been issued to local police and garrison troops, in order to suppress any further attempt to disturb peace and order. It is explained that the stern warning was necessitated not only by the recent repeated disturbances, but also by "unimpeachable intelligence," that a Communist "Mobilization For Disturbance Committee" has been discovered.

It is said that the Communist plot has as its sole purpose the creation of trouble along the Yangtze, with Shanghai as its major objective.

* * *

THE trouble at Tung Chi University originated from the decision of the students to organize a mass petition "march" on Nanking to present their demand to the Central Government authorities for the reinstatement of several students who were expelled for being active leaders in the student movement. In order to prevent the students from getting to the railway station, a "cordon sanitaire" of police and garrison troops armed with riots cars and armored vehicles was thrown around the campus of the university.

Mayor K. C. Wu went to the scene to offer his mediation. Negotiations between the mayor and student representatives were going on smoothly when word was received that five students had been arrested by the police. This greatly enraged the students, and some of them rushed forward in an attempt to break through the police cordon. It is alleged that the mounted police at this time made a charge in order to halt the march of the students. It was in the midst of this confusion that the mayor got knocked down and lost his spectacles and his pipe. Scores of students and police constable were badly injured. It is alleged that most of the students injured suffered bayonet cuts on the head.

The reported manhandling of the mayor and the subsequent mass round-up of students are really deplorable. The reason is obvious. For one thing, the use of force or violence cannot be justified. For another, China's new Constitution is said to have been in force since December 25, 1947. The Constitution grants freedom of assembly and expression, which the Shanghai Government sought to curtail. However, Mayor Wu and his aides believed that the students sought to commandeer a train, as students did some months ago. Furthermore, it is undeniable that the Shanghai officials would have been embarrassed by the agitation several hundred students could stir up in the capital.

Ever since the student strike movement of last May, the Government authorities have adopted a high-handed policy with students. The trouble at Tung Chi, according to press reports, went deeper than the fight against unreasonable expulsion of students. Agitation has been under way for some time against the Revised Regulations Governing Student Self-Government Associations, which the Ministry of Education promulgated last year.

Similar protest movements have occurred elsewhere throughout the country. In Nanking, students of the National Central University went on strike to protest against the manipulated election of their self-government association. In Peiping, university students were unanimous in denouncing the revised regulations as "undemocratic" and "dictatorial."

According to the students, the new regulations simply transform the student self-government associations into puppet bodies of hand-picked student representatives. Instead of helping and encouraging the students to develop their initiative and their solidarity, the revised regulations are accused of splitting the students into isolated or even hostile groupings so that the authorities may be able to apply "divide and rule" tactics.

We are no authority on the interpretation of China's new Constitution. However, it takes no authority to see that the revised regulations are "unconstitutional." They flagrantly violate the people's freedom of organization, which has been specifically guaranteed in the Constitution.

After the unpleasant Tung Chi affair, there has been much demand in the Chinese press for

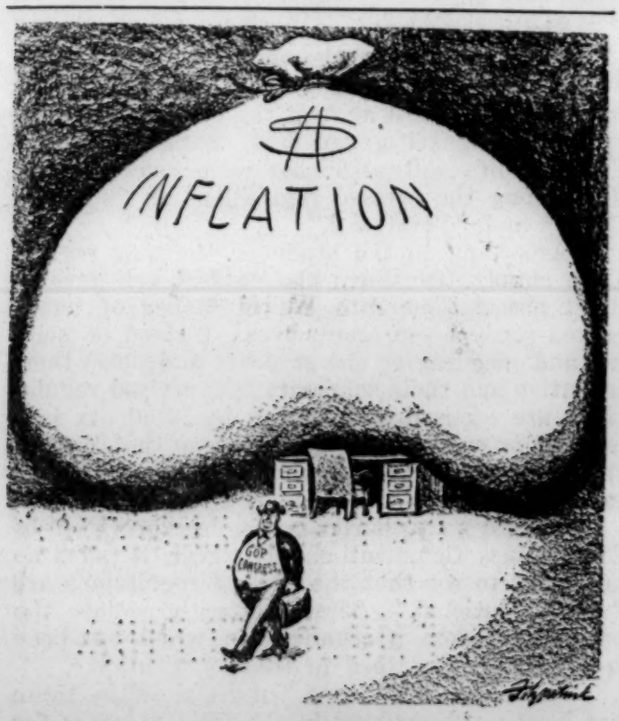
strengthening school discipline, and President Chang Chun of the Executive Yuan is reported to have ordered the Ministry of Education to take prompt measures to "correct the behavior of the students." In our opinion, the best way to strengthen school discipline is to remove the many causes that make for student complaints and unrest. The Big Stick policy will only serve to fan the flames of popular discontent and eventual explosion.

It is no secret that conditions in many Chinese institutions of higher learning are alarming. The students have nothing but contempt for their presidents, who are not academically or intellectually qualified and whose only qualification is their "background."

True, there is much need for reforming China's universities and schools. But the question isn't simply one of strengthening disciplne. What is called for is an all-out overhauling of China's educational system and educational policies on the basis of developing Chinese students into free men.

Self-Help Program

ACCORDING to press reports, General Chang Chun, President of the Executive Yuan, has worked out a 10-point program of self-help. It is said that the program has had a good press in the United States and is now under sympathetic consideration by the State Department. Well-informed circles in Nanking are reported in the Chinese press to have expressed the belief that the announcement of General Chang's program has contributed much toward facilitating the current negotiations between Nanking and Washington on an immediate American loan to China. An authoritative source at the capital is quoted as saying that a definite decision on American aid to China is expected shortly.



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General Chang's self-help program is designed:

(1) To improve Government finance—by controlling and readjusting Government expenditures towards strict economy, by improving the national, provincial and local tax systems towards higher yield and more equitable distribution, and by reforming the banking and credit systems through centralization of control by the Central Bank of China and maintenance of a counter-inflationary policy;

(2) To better the treatment of the civilian and military personnel of the Government, with a view to greater efficiency;

(3) To expand China's foreign trade—by promoting exports through the removal of obstacles to export movements, and by improving import control, even modifying the emergency control measures as soon as conditions permit;

(4) To increase industrial and agricultural production and to check speculation and abnormal rise of prices through tightening and extending Government controls over the supply of daily necessities.

* * *

IT would appear that the program is intended more to serve diplomatic purposes than to clarify the Government's policy of self-help. After noting with gratification the inclusion of China in the interim aid bill and the announced intention of the United States Government to take early action during the present session of Congress to provide substantial aid for China, General Chang in a public statement revealed the relationship of his self-help program to foreign aid. He pointed out that "the Chinese Government fully recognizes that in order to secure the maximum benefit from external aid, an adequate and practical program of domestic measures of self-help is needed." In the words of *UP*, the program is designed "to provide the firmest possible foundation for utilization of American aid."

Point 5 in the program stresses that "every effort will be made toward laying the basis for a more stable monetary system in order to insure maximum effectiveness of external aid." Point 9 specifically mentions "the improvement of agricultural production, rural conditions and land reform through the adoption of such recommendations by the China-US Agricultural Mission as are suitable for early introduction."

It is therefore evident that from the political viewpoint the hope for external aid is more noteworthy than the self-help aspects of the program. And this is one reason, we suppose, why General Chang thought fit to announce his program at this time.

* * *

STRICTLY speaking, the program contains nothing new whatever. All points stated in it have been said and elaborated in the economic resolutions which the third plenary session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang adopted last March, and again in the Economic Reform Plan which the Government, under the leadership of General Chang, promulgated last August. There is much to be said for

the resolutions and the plan. They were the products of much deep thinking, mature deliberation and heated discussion. They contained many practical and theoretically sound recommendations for action. In fact, they were more business-like and more comprehensive than the present 10-point program, which is nothing but an abstract enumeration of the Government's objectives in the economic field. Therefore, the self-help program cannot hope to succeed where the Kuomintang resolutions and the Economic Reform Plan have failed unless prompt, concrete action is taken to translate the paper decisions into deeds.

The question facing this country, it seems to us, is not one of mapping out more plans or programs which are old in substance. The pressing need of the moment, we believe, is to proceed from the abstract to the concrete, from words to deeds.

The self-help program is excellent in principle. There is no doubt about it. Nor is there any need for argument on this or that point. But the question that counts in the last analysis is: How are the objectives to be attained?

There is one more point we wish to add. It is our understanding that China's present economic ills are not isolated symptoms. They have a great deal to do with China's internal politics. Past experience has demonstrated the utter folly and futility of the policy of attacking the economic problems without taking the political factors into consideration. Unless there is a double-barreled policy of instituting simultaneous political and economic reforms, the prospects for any economic reform are not bright. Although General Chang recognizes the need that the self-help program should be followed or accompanied by certain other reforms in the fields of general administration and military reorganization, he fails to state just what other reforms he is going to introduce.

The time is getting short. It is hoped that the self-help program this time will not go the way of the Economic Reform Plan.

American Views

AS we go to press the US State Department's program for aid to China has still not been announced. Indications are, however, that the announcement may come before this editorial is read.

According to what advance dope is available, the aid program will be in the hundreds of millions of US dollars and will be aimed at helping China with her balance of payments—that is at helping her buy vitally needed supplies from America without making too much of a hole in her foreign exchange reserves.

If this turns out to be true, there will probably be objections from two sides. The Chinese Communists will presumably attack the program—as they attack every form of American help to the government here—as a sign of "imperialism" and as a factor that will prolong the Civil War.

"MUST WE STOP AMERICANISM, TOO?"
POWER TO OUTLAW COMMUNIST PARTY
POWER TO OUTLAW ANY PARTY
Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Various elements in the government can be expected to say the amount of aid is a trifle compared to what America is spending on Europe, and a sum altogether too small to solve the emergency here.

We think it worthwhile to go over here what we have been able to learn about various American attitudes toward the China-aid question. These differ greatly, and there is some confusion about them in this country. Possibly by listing the different elements concerned and by examining the authority with which they speak, we may be able to clarify this somewhat.

* * *

ONE school includes men like William C. Bullitt, Congressman Walter Judd and the Luce and Scripps-Howard publications. This school beats the drum constantly for all-out aid to Generalissimo Chiang's regime. It maintains that the Chinese Communist party is a foreign invasion in China, and argues that America must help throw this invasion back by all possible means.

The *Shanghai Evening Post* recently printed the following remarks about Luce and Scripps-Howard in an editorial:

"Few if any Scripps-Howard editors have been in China but Roy W. Howard has been out here several times, and is heavily prejudiced along lines substantially the same as those of Henry Luce. Both men are sincere, but uninterested in impartial presentation or discussion of the facts on China, being convinced that Soviet Russia represents such an imminent menace that no holds should be barred in fighting her at close grips, instantly, with any weapons handy. In China the National Government is felt to be the only weapon handy so both are all-out for essentially unrestricted aid, though their publications pay virtuous lip-service to the theories of planning and control."

We subscribe to this judgment. Apparently those who control American policy do also. What-

ever effect the Luce and Scripps-Howard papers may be having on the American people as a whole, their views are apparently being discounted as propaganda in the US Government's final decisions.

* * *

THERE is another group that has also been expressing itself freely in the controversy. This includes some of the best known American experts on China, such as Owen Lattimore and John Fairbank, also some newspapers of standing, such as the *New York Herald Tribune*, the *Washington Post* and the *Christian Science Monitor*. Their arguments cannot be boiled down easily, but in general they seem to think the present Chinese Government is so corrupt and inefficient that America can do little to save it. At least some of them also think that America is dangerously arousing Chinese nationalism by trying. They do not look on the Chinese Communist movement as a Russian invasion. Rather they believe it gets its force from revolutionary tensions within China itself.

We subscribe to these views, and we respect the sources from which they come. Chinese historians who are opposed to Communism have told us that Lattimore has made some of the greatest contributions of this generation to the general knowledge of Chinese culture and the culture of the northern border areas. Other Chinese scholars, likewise opposed to Communism, have praised Fairbank as perhaps the best of the young American experts on this country. We believe these men are in a position to judge developments here on their own merits, not from a prejudiced viewpoint.

There is another interesting American scholar who has been expressing himself on this matter, but from another viewpoint. This is Walter Lippmann. Lippmann has been writing a great deal about the worldwide American policy. His position is that America cannot afford to sail into Communist movements all around the Russian periphery. He thinks that by doing so American resources will be involved in the support of wasteful and unpopular regimes, and that this will lead to uncontrollable embroilment and final exhaustion. He lists China as one of the places where American should not get bogged down. He says that the American play should be made in Western Europe, where it will have some chance of success.

As far as we can tell, the general and somewhat varied school of thought represented by these men is influential. Their reasoning seems to have the greatest effect on people connected with policy.

* * *

BESIDES these two elements there is the extreme American left wing, including the Communists. Presumably they are and will be against any American help to a non-Communist government anywhere—as they are against the Marshall Plan, for instance.

As we understand it, this group does not have much influence now, considering the way American feeling is running.

So much for the public discussion.

* * *

IT may be that America's China policy is controlled less by public discussion than by the decisions of Secretary Marshall and the experts who assist him.

The world's understanding of what Marshall and the State Department have in mind is obscured by a confusion between the "Truman Doctrine" and the "Marshall Plan."

The Truman Doctrine, which was applied in Greece and Turkey shortly after Secretary Marshall's appointment, seems to call for direct, vigorous countermeasures against Russian or Communist pressure wherever it occurs. If this is true, then it seems also to call for intervention in China on the scale that the Luce-Bullitt school recommends. Many people in China have been puzzled because this logic seems to have miscarried somewhere.

What has apparently happened is this. At the time the Truman Doctrine was first applied last spring, Washington thought that the Chinese Government's crisis was not yet nearly so severe as that of the Greek government, and that the Doctrine did not have to be applied here immediately. Shortly thereafter, when Greece had turned into a quagmire for America, the Truman Doctrine was abandoned. It was replaced by the Marshall Plan, which is something entirely different. The Marshall Plan seems to be in line with the views of Walter Lippmann described above. It seeks to concentrate American resources in aid to western Europe, where governments exist that can revive themselves if given enough dollar credits. These countries apparently are desperately short of foreign exchange, which they need to get their economies started up again after the war.

Secretary Marshall is very guarded in what he says about China, but he is known to have had discouraging experiences in trying to get the Chinese army to reform, and he has called attention publicly to the many criticisms by Chinese of their government. It is possible that he looks on China as a potential quagmire far greater than Greece. It is possible that he agrees with the views of men like Lattimore and Fairbank on this point.

But to satisfy critics both here and in America he must make some gesture toward Nanking. To help with China's balance of payments is to attack at least one tangible part of the problem. Probably no one believes it is a fundamental solution, but it is perhaps more help to the country as a whole than anything America can do on a small scale—or perhaps on any scale at all.

A Martyr For Our Times

WE do well to mourn the passing of Mahatma Gandhi. Pearl Buck expressed it fittingly when she said that the great Indian leader's

death created a vacuum in the hearts of the members of her family. Many of us found the world felt that way. Gandhi's death has been a signal for renewed violence in India. Gandhi's death has removed from the world a conscience which might have helped to restrain other violence.

The 78-year-old Gandhi was both a pioneer and an anochronism in the modern world. He led the fight for independence from colonial domination. He saw it culminated with the departure of the British from India. His words and deeds stirred many men in other oriental lands to fight their foreign masters. In China he was revered.

Yet together with his striving for independence, Gandhi espoused an ideal as old as Jesus Christ, as old as the early Hebrews. He preached brotherly love. He preachment took the form of non-violence and passive resistance. There was a nobility in Gandhi as noble that ideal. It was with considerable aptitude that his passing has been likened to that of Abraham Lincoln.

But for all this nobility, Gandhi's idealism, practically speaking, did not work. It did not work in India as it has not worked, despite the visions and labor of other men, on a world plane. Passive resistance and non-violence cannot be the whole answer for peace in our troubled world.

Gandhi was so much a saint and a mystic that he remained an enigma to us and even to some of his closest followers until the end of his days. On many questions perhaps it was only Gandhi who understood Gandhi. Jawaharlal Nehru, who has assumed the mantle of his leadership, frequently was bitterly annoyed at Gandhi. Several times in the decades between the world wars Gandhi seemed to have led the resistance to a point when the British must surely surrender. Yet, at these critical times it was Gandhi who backed down.

Though resentful, Nehru and his colleagues had to go along. They could not buck the overwhelming support among Hindus and Moslems alike which belonged to Gandhi.

At Gandhi's death, Nehru and these others were choked with tears. As critical as they had been of the little man, their love for him surpassed all else.

The murder was the work of a member of the Hindu Mahasabha. Like the right-wing of the Moslem League, the Mahasabha is fanatic and militant. In Gandhi's time neither group could understand his philosophy of love.

Gandhi's life and his death may be said to point the way for the world. He struggled always toward the goal of independence. He won that struggle through persistence. He strove to achieve peace through love. He won many followers to this ideal. But he refused to protect himself. He refused to recognize that love was not all. Even a week before he was murdered a hand grenade was thrown at him. He continued to walk unprotected among a stormy mob.

Love is a splendid means, but perhaps Gandhi has shown us that we should not expose ourselves to its violation and our self-extermination through failure to recognize that not all of us are marching toward this goal.

25 Years Ago In The *Weekly Review Of The Far East*

Self-Deteriorating Party

February 3, 1923.

THE failure of the Kuomintang to achieve anything notable in the last 10 years has undoubtedly been due to its attempt to dictate a national policy without an assurance of understanding and support among the people of the nation, to effect high-class and rapid reforms which the naturally slow progress of the people is unprepared for, and to exclude a second or a third party which should be given the same opportunity and privilege of offering its service to Kwangtung or China. The influence of the Kuomintang in Kwangtung has not been in the right direction, and without the attractive personality and enthusiasm of Dr. Sun Yat-sen to hold the elements together, this self-deteriorating party is liable to become an insignificant factor soon in local politics.

* * *

No Real Evidence

I find China in a condition of chaos, with Civil War south of the Yangtze, Szechuen in the west reported in turmoil and armed camps dominating all parts of North China. In Peking I have met individually brilliant men and idealists but, possibly due to military interference, no real evidence of broad constructive endeavor to achieve, in government affairs, a unity of purpose to bind China together as a nation...I find China insolvent, due largely to the squandering of government funds in military adventures and the maintenance of demoralizing military forces....In frankly stating my impression of China as I see conditions today, I can assure you that China has the real sympathy and friendship of the American people. (Hon. L. C. Dyer).

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

Secret Agreement

February 5, 1938.

BRITAIN, France and the Soviet Union agreed secretly, on January 28, to assist China in her war against Japan and seek the cooperation of the United States, the *United Press* reported from Geneva. Foreign Ministers of the three countries met with Dr. Wellington Koo, Chinese delegate to the League of Nations. The League delegates attending the secret meeting were reticent to reveal details of the agreement with China, but informed quarters believed the plan called for the shipment of arms and extension of credits to China and a possible oil embargo and financial boycott of Japan.

* * *

Reparations Demanded

JAPAN'S demands for war indemnity against China included "not only all reparations demanded by a victor" but also the indemnification for the losses suffered by Japanese in China, Mr. Koki Hirota, Foreign Minister, declared January 27. This reply was made in answer to a question regarding details of the four-point peace terms recently communicated to the Nationalist government through German good offices. Necessity of increasing or reducing the gold cover of the Bank of Japan was not being felt now, Mr. Okinori Kaya, Finance Minister, declared. Should gold shipments abroad become necessary, Mr. Kaya continued, newly-mined gold would be used for the purpose.

Nationalist Failure In Shantung Pointer To War's Future

Michael Keon

(The writer of this article is an Australian journalist who spent seven months with Communist forces during the period of which he writes. Mr. Keon is now engaged in writing a book on his experience in Communist Shantung.—EDITOR.)

THE failure of the Central Government military campaign in Shantung is a key pointer, in my opinion, to the whole future course of the Civil War in China.

The Nationalist military campaign in Shantung had two main objectives. The first objective was to destroy one of the most powerful and well-organised Communist bases in North China. The second objective was to clear the way for a reopening of the absolutely vital north-south arterial Tientsin-Pukow railway—over 200 miles of which between Hsuchow and Tsinan ran all too vulnerably along the base of the Communist-held mountains of central Shantung.

The total military significance of Shantung is, of course, far greater and more complicated than one might gather from this bald statement of the two main Nationalist objectives. Shantung is one of the largest and richest of the provinces of North China. Its 38,000,000 peasants are notoriously amongst the most venturesome, physically strongest and most independent of the provincial types of China. With strong Communist forces in the Shantung mountains no major Nationalist campaign on the great North China plain to the west could safely get under way. And—the Nationalists correctly maintained—the Communists were using the northeast ocean ports of Shantung for a considerable traffic with their own people in Manchuria and with the Soviet Russians in the Liaotung Peninsula.

Major Target

So the destruction of the Communist forces and base in Shantung was one of the immediate major targets at the reopening of the Civil War towards the end of 1946.

I believe the Central Government completely failed in all its military objectives in Shantung. Two limited Central Government successes were achieved in the Shantung campaign. The Tientsin-Pukow railway stretch between Hsuchow and Tsinan has been reopened, and at least the main lines of Communist trans-ocean communication between Shantung and Manchuria have been cut. But both these successes have been very limited in general significance. The reopening of the Hsuchow-Tsinan stretch of the Tientsin-Pukow railway has been largely nullified by the reappearance of a Communist main force along the southern reaches of the line between Hsuchow and Pukow, and the ocean supply lines between Shantung and Manchuria had already achieved their main purpose of getting to Shantung large portions of the vast Japanese Kwantung Army reserve military supplies, into possession of which the Chinese Reds in the Liaotung Peninsula came (as a result, I believe, of Soviet Russian acquiescence).

On the other hand, the Communists have remained in control of almost all the key mountain regions of Shantung and their main force, after inflicting major military losses on the Central Government armies, has outflanked the Central Government forces to return south to Kiangsu, Anhwei and Honan in what must surely be the gravest of threats to the Nationalist position in Central China.

• • •

THE main Nationalist campaign against Shantung began in late November of 1946, with the drive against Lin-i in south Shantung. The Nationalists took Lin-i and claimed a big victory, but the word soon got around that Communist General Chen Yi had withdrawn his forces from the flat country around Lin-i to wait in the mountains to the north for a greater extension of Kuomintang lines of military communication.

The word was slower in getting around that General Chen Yi had, before withdrawing, in one of those lightning tactical concentrations of superior power of which the Communists alone seem to have the secret, captured intact and with the drawing of little blood General Ma Li-wu's motorized column—one of the three motorized columns with the Central Government armies.

The first full account of this bad Central Government defeat appeared, I believe, in the pages of this *Review* (*China Weekly Review* March 8, 1947—Ed.) in an article by Miss Betty Graham, an American journalist who interviewed General Ma Li-wu shortly after his capture by General Chen Yi.

Motorized Column

Ma Li-wu had been a personal A.D.C. of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his disappearance, together with one of the three Central Government motorized columns, caused some consternation among my Nationalist military friends in Peiping and Nanking. When I reached Communist General Headquarters in Shantung early in March, Communist General Chang Yun-yeh reported to me that the captured motorized column had consisted of one brigade of infantry, one tank battalion, one motorized battalion, and one artillery battalion, comprising a total of almost 13,000 men. These figures as given by the Communists were correct, I knew, for they agreed with the figures a Nationalist general had privately given me before I left Nanking.

This was a troublesome opening from the Central Government viewpoint of the Shantung campaign. But it was mild compared to what was impending.

In the last week in February, 1947, in north Shantung in the mountains just south of the town of Laiwu, a second and far greater disaster came to the Central Government forces.

Lightning Concentration

In the middle of Shantung, General Chen Yi carried out another of those lightning concentrations. Completely unknown to Nationalist field intelligence, General Chen withdrew the greater part of his main force from the mountains of south-west Shantung to those of north Shantung. The top Nationalist field commander in north Shantung, General Li Hsien-chou, moved out of Laiwu with his 73rd Army, 46th Army (or "Reorganized Division") and one brigade of his 12th Army—a total of 66,000 men. The Communists captured General Li and his 66,000 men, again almost bloodlessly.

Some three weeks later, in a mountain village in central Shantung, I talked with the captured General Li Hsien-chou and General Han Chun, commander of his 73rd Army. This talk was not as productive as it might have been if one of the Communist generals in charge of it (a young man named Huang Yuan) had not had far more limited ideas than myself on what it was proper to ask someone who was a "guest" of the Communists without "causing him pain." But it did emerge from some three hours conversation and dinner, that General Li had been utterly unaware of the vast Communist trap spread out for him in the mountains when he moved south out of Laiwu.

General Li stated that the Communist forces which ambushed him outnumbered his forces by "14 to one"—a figure the obtaining of which was obviously quite beyond the means of General Li's almost non-existent G2, though the Communists did later tell me that their forces did markedly outnumber those of Li. Li also stated that, if he had not been instructed to move out of Laiwu, he would probably never have been captured by the Communists—a statement in which the Commu-

nists heartily concurred, with the additional observation that they would be much happier to have General Li's troops starving in a blockaded Laiwu than on their own hands for feeding and housing.

Admitted Surrender

I talked with numbers of prisoners from both the 73rd and 46th Armies, including boys who cheerfully admitted (without any Communists present to influence them) that their unit had surrendered, fully armed, when a Communist officer suddenly appeared in their midst, told them who he was, and calmly instructed them to lay down their arms (adding, these 73rd Army boys said, that they could keep such personal belongings as watches and fountain pens).

During March, April and the first part of May, the Central Government forces made forays into the central mountain block from the south, west and north. Towns like Taian, Mengyin, and Hsintai in the west-central mountains changed hands almost weekly. Strong Nationalist spearheads also managed to push up the northward-pointing valley from Lin-i in south Shantung almost to Chuhsien in central Shantung—though I was in Chuhsien in June on a night when one Shanghai radio was broadcasting an "eye-witness" account of its capture. I also discovered, going over back numbers of Central Government communiques after my return to Nanking, that I was in a number of other small towns and villages at the same time as Nationalist forces—either myself or the Nationalists obviously being invisible at this time.

There was no real change in the military position until mid-May—and then occurred one of the most significant engagements of the whole of the Civil War.

Sometime at the beginning of May, Nationalist General Chang Ling-fu and his 74th Army moved from the west into the mountains south of Mengyin. I had met General Chang Ling-fu, many months before, in Nanking. I remembered him as a very handsome, vital, impressive young man, who without any arrogance was quietly confident that he and his 74th Army were more than a match for any Communist force.

Crack Troops

General Chang had reason for his confidence. The 74th Army was one of the really crack Central Government fighting forces, American equipped and trained, honoured for its part in the Burma campaign. An objective-minded Central Government newspaperman who was a friend of mine told me that he regarded the 74th Army as having the highest morale of any Nationalist force with whom he had lived.

Towards the middle of May, General Chang had reached the mountains of Mengliangko—about the harshest place in all Shantung, with no water, little cover beyond a few rocks, and few villages. General Chang thought it was a bad place in which to get caught and wired his superior commanders, Generals Wang Yao-wu and Tang En-po, that he wanted to move south.

According to the story the Communists told me, and which I later heard repeated by newsmen and Nationalist military men in Nanking, top commander Tang En-po told Chang to stop where he was. Chang stopped there and was caught by Communist General Ssu Yu (whom most of the Communists in Shantung seemed to regard as a better field commander than Chen Yi).

Ssu Yu, of course, produced his forces with another of those out-of-the-hat Communist gestures. Anyway, by May 14, he had General Chang completely surrounded and at sunset he began the battle of Mengliangko with an artillery barrage which a Nationalist prisoner subsequently described to me as "very bad, very bad. It went on and on, coming from everywhere. I went deaf."

WINTER LANDSCAPE.

·曼白余· 景雪

From Cheng Yen Pao.

I believe the battle of Mengliangko to have been a striking example of Communist military daring, skill and power. My information in Shantung at the time was that Communist General Ssu Yu concentrated a very large Communist force for this operation. Part of the force he used for the actual battle with the 74th Army, but the larger portion of it he used as a screen against the other Central Government units which were desperately trying to relieve the trapped 74th Army from the north, west and south. There were very large Central Government armies threatening Ssu Yu with a strategic outflanknig from both the north and the Lin-i valley to the southwest, and either the actual loss of this battle or its undue protraction would almost certainly have been a major disaster for the whole Communist position in central Shantung.

Ssu Yu's calculations, however, were correct. Three nights and two days after he opened his bombardment, 9,000 of the 74th's men were dead and the other stunned, wounded and exhausted 15,000 had surrendered. General Chang Ling-fu had his headquarters on a cave in the mountainside. About dawn on the 17th, when the final disintegration of his army had set in and Communist troops were sliding down the mountainside above him, General Chang pulled the pin out of a hand grenade and died with all but one of his principal staff officers. Later, the victorious Communist commander said of him:

"General Chang Ling-fu was a brave man. He knew how to fight."

There is no doubt that General Chang did know how to fight and that for two days and three nights he directed his army in a skilled and stubborn resistance to the Communist attack, which cost the Communists a considerable number of casualties (though Communist casualties were far less than Nationalist). A young Communist commander told me:

"I had to get a nest of three Kuomintang machineguns. They were very well placed on a ridge with a screen of riflemen all round. I was told to do the job in three hours. It took me five and I lost twice as many men as I had expected. Those men really fought."

Nevertheless, the 74th Army was destroyed—and in a fixed positional battle in which the Communists had to conduct themselves not as hit-and-run guerrillas but as regular forces engaged in a military operation of a pattern standard anywhere in the world.

66th Army Destroyed

A few days after the destruction of the 74th Army, the Nationalist 66th Army (or "Reorganized Division") was destroyed at Yang-shan-ch'i in south-west Shantung. This was not in Chen Yi's area but in that of Liu P'o-ch'eng, and I have no details about the actual engagement. I know that the 66th Army was in the same fighting class as the 74th and that it had been one of Nationalist Chief of Staff Chen Cheng's favorite units. Its destruction undoubtedly had an influence in the fighting in central Shantung.

During the following two months of June and July, the Nationalist concentration of troops in the central Shantung area reached its peak. The greater part of the valley running from Lin-i to Chuhsien was occupied—though not nearly as much as the Nationalists claimed. Considerable penetration of the mountains south-east of Tsinan and west from Taian and north-east from Hsintai took place.

This was the stage of the operation which gave rise to Central Government claims of complete victory in Shantung. This stage climaxed in the Communist defeat at Linchu, south-west of Weihsien. The Communists claim this as a victory, but I believe their claim to be incorrect. I was very close to Linchu at this period and I know that Communist casualties were considerable. Also, immediately following the battle of Linchu, the Nationalists were able to effect the first land junction along the dismantled Kiaochow-Tsinan line between Weihsien and Tsinan.

However, two things must be considered in connection with this stage. Firstly, I believe that Generals Chen Yi and Ssu Yu were already moving large portions of their main forces south for their return to Central China and were deliberately letting the Central Government extend its communication lines through the mountains so that local forces could get to work on them in standard guerrilla fashion. This is borne out by the fact that Nationalists who participated in the Linchu fighting have told me that they were surprised at the mediocre calibre of the Communist troops—sure indication that they were local forces and not the crack main troops.

The second thing to be considered is that General Liu P'o-ch'eng was making his celebrated dash for Hankow and the Communists knew perfectly well the Nationalists would have to pull large numbers of troops out of Shantung to send back to Honan. This would give the Communist forces left in central Shantung an opportunity for an economical counter-offensive.

And this, I think, is what actually happened—for there is little doubt that almost the whole of the mountain area of Shantung right up to the outskirts of Tsinan is once again firmly in Communist hands." Even before I left Central Shantung a strong Communist counter offensive was under way south of Chuhsien.

Irrational Action

However, a strange thing happened then. The Nationalists in the middle of August from Tsingtao mounted a campaign against the Chiaotung Peninsula of northeast Shantung. This was a rather minor operation, the principal significance of which for me is that Nationalist strategists seem to work in obedience to some utterly irrational law of their own.

The avowed Nationalist objective in the Chiaotung Peninsula was to capture Chefoo and smaller Communist ports and break ocean communication with Manchuria. The Nationalists succeeded in this objective. But the usefulness of Chefoo and the other ports to the Communists was virtually over. The Communists simply moved out of them, let the Nationalists in, and then proceeded to blockade them and pin down still more Nationalist garrison forces which would have been infinitely better employed in action at 1,000 other points.

A number of small battles were fought, all of which the Nationalists privately admit they lost. The measure of the operation was always apparent to an observer who knew the area. Though the Communists evacuated a number of places in the Peninsula they never evacuated the strategic Kaomi - Weihsien - Pingtu triangle in the Wei valley. The country here is as flat as a board and the kaoliang was harvested by mid-October. The Communists could only have held this area if they had superior forces to those of the Nationalists. And this area is the key to the Chiaotung Peninsula. It is absurd to fight a campaign in the Peninsula while the Wei valley is still in the hands of your opponents. The Communist intention was always clear. They waited until the Nationalists had got their forces extended all through the mountains of the Peninsula, then sealed it off, and proceeded at their leisure to pin the Nationalists into a few coastal pockets.

Position Unchanged

Then, as a climax they took back most of the small towns between Weihsien and Tsingtao and brought the whole Shantung position back virtually to what it was before the Nationalist campaign began.

The whole Shantung campaign is easy to sum up—the Nationalists fought for a little over a year to lose something over 250,000 men including some of their best units, to fail completely to destroy the Communist main force, and finally to have it move out behind and return to the even more vital Central China area where it is a far more active threat to the whole Nationalist position than it was in Shantung. The main areas of Shantung remain as securely as ever in Communist hands. The reopening of the Hsuchow-Tsinan stretch of the Tientsin-Pukow line, and the capture of Chefoo, have no strategic and very little tactical significance.

The Nationalists concentrated vast amounts of troops and material for the Shantung campaign. It was, I believe, their largest single military effort against the Communists. And it failed—it failed in such a way as to completely demonstrate the correctness of the Communist military technique in China and the complete irrelevance of that of the Nationalists.

FOLLOW DEVELOPMENTS IN CHINA....

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SHANGHAI

THE SHAMEEN INCIDENT

Jack James

(The writer of this article is an American, a teacher of English at Lingnan University, Canton.—EDITOR.)

OLDTIMERS in southern China seem to be of a pretty unanimous opinion that part of the reason for the exaggerated demonstration of January 16, which ended in the burning of the British Consulate in Canton, lies in the loss of face by the British in their defeat in the Far East in the early stages of the recent war.

The losses of Hongkong and Singapore to the Japanese burst the bubble of British invincibility in Asia, and the post-war return of Burma and India to native rule intensified the desires of Chinese in general for the return of Hongkong and the New Territories.

These opinions are echoed in opinions expressed by many Chinese here, who also admit that in the days of extraterritoriality, with foreign guards at the entrance to the foreign concession of Shameen, and a gunboat or two in the Pearl River, the incident would not have occurred.

Excuse Furnished

The incident which furnished the excuse for the riot, of course, was the forcible expulsion of "walled city" residents in Kowloon by members of the Hongkong police force.

The fact that the safety of Shameen island was entrusted to local police, and that the force was inadequate for proper defense of the entrances, must be taken as a major contributing factor to the extremity of the demonstration. The guards at the bridges had thrown movable wire barricades across the path, but made no attempt to stop the demonstrators as they pushed the barricades aside and marched across the bridge.

A very small force had thrown a cordon around the flag pole in front of the British Consulate, and after a brief battle with the rioters, they too gave up, and simply watched the proceedings as the crowd broke into the Consular compound and began a systematic destruction of the premises.

Police protection was given to three members of the consular staff, including the Consul-General, Ronald Hall, but other members of the staff were forced to make their way to safety through the rioters without aid.

Units of the army were requested from Governor T. V. Soong during the early stages of the riot, but they failed to arrive for more than two hours. When they did arrive, the destruction was almost complete.

Still another factor to be considered is the attitude of many of the British people in Canton. The consular staff, for the most part at least, had been friendly to the Chinese, but this was not true of many employees of commercial firms. These people wished often and publicly for the return of the prewar privileges of extraterritoriality, and condemned, within earshot of Chinese, the fact that Shameen is no longer closed to Chinese who wish to live there and can pay the price.

Attitude Blamed

One commercial employee, several months after he had hired his houseboy, knew no name for him other than "Boy." Attitudes of this sort, coupled with the experiences of many of the Chinese in Hongkong, added greatly to the anti-British feeling which made the demonstration possible.

Although there have been official expressions of regret, and promises of restitution, there are still many public and private attempts at justification of the incident. Local newspapers carried very restrained accounts of the demonstration. No pictures were published. Editorials were vague. The Canton newsboys' union resolved not to sell two Hongkong vernacular newspapers which carried pictures and complete accounts of the riot. In the case of the newspapers, however, normal sales continued despite the ban.

Privately, many Chinese will say that "Britain deserved it," because of her conduct in the Kowloon affair, and that the demonstration is an expression of a new Chinese national pride and thinking.

Two Questions

This does not justify the incident under law. The decision of representatives of the two nations in Nanking to treat the Kowloon question and the Shameen incident as two separate questions for negotiation is correct from the point of international law. The walled city trouble is a question of territorial sovereignty. The Shameen incident hinges on the provisions of consular immunities as provided in the various commercial treaties between China and Britain, and upon the responsibility of the Chinese government to provide protection for foreign lives and property under its territorial jurisdiction.

Blame for the Shameen incident is hard to place definitely. Student demonstrators were in the majority, but the destruction was started by men who were dressed in workers' garb.

Some people noted that last year the labor unions were used to break up a student demonstration in Canton, and that in this year's demonstration, the unions were out in force to participate.

The local newspapers were instrumental in whipping up enthusiasm for the demonstration. At a dinner meeting of 90 local newspapermen on the Monday preceding the incident, at which K. C. Cheng, Director of the Provincial Information Bureau, was host, it was decided that the vernacular press would not accept the *Reuters* News Service dispatches on the Kowloon incident.

There are two ways of looking at this affair. According to reports of the meeting, Cheng first read the *Reuters* version of the story, which may or may not have constituted an official endorsement. The subsequent decision of the newspapermen not to use *Reuters* stories about Kowloon, therefore, may or may not have been in line with the government's desires.

Pressure Applied

The government did support the parade, though any actual sponsorship is hard to prove. Some pressure was brought to bear by public officials upon the heads of universities and middle schools to bring their institutions into the demonstration. Yao Po-yiu, Provincial Minister of Education, called upon several middle school principals asking for participation. In two known cases, the principals refused.

Enthusiasm among the students themselves was never extremely high, though it increased when it was suggested that they could have a holiday in the midst of their final examination period. Many students attended the demonstration under threat of being called "running dogs of the Britishers."

However, it is certain that the government did not want or expect the demonstrators to go to the embarrassing lengths they reached.

Though the official blame for the incident was laid on the Communists and has never been retracted, most observers think it unlikely that the Reds are responsible. The Communists in this area center their activities in Hongkong, and their propaganda, for understandable reasons, has been curiously free of reference to Kowloon.

Extreme reactionary factions in the government would appear to be the most likely source of the trouble. The labor groups, which are apparently responsible in part for the destruction, are controlled by the right wingers in the government. The fact that Army units were slow in arriving at the scene may also indicate that there are groups in the government wishing to embarrass Governor Soong.

What the actual source of the demonstration was, who the extremists among the rioters were and what their affiliations are, is still a matter of conjecture. The government is keeping quiet.

THE STUDY OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES IN CHINESE SCHOOLS

OSVALT SUNNE

(The writer of this article was assistant editor of the Kuo Min News Agency from 1930 to 1941. Since then he has devoted his time to teaching English and French to Chinese students, in addition to writing and translating for various Chinese journals.—EDITOR.)

A CELEBRATED English philosopher and statesman has succinctly observed: "Studies serve ofr delight, for ornament, and for ability." This is especially true of the study of foreign languages, for the pleasure, refinement and knowledge that one derives from such studies are, indeed, boundless. Therefore, by all means, let our schools pay due attention in their curriculums to the study of foreign languages.

A survey shows that at present English is the first, and often the only, foreign language taught in most Chinese schools. This is not surprising as it is but a natural result of a century's cultural, political and economic contact between the Chinese and the Anglo-Saxon nations. There can be little divergence of opinon on the desirability and usefulness of the study of English, but where the methods and materials of instruction in our schools are concerned, there is room for much improvement.

English is now taught in nearly every province in China: in colleges, universities, junior and senior middle schools, and sometimes even in primary schools. One of the chief aims of teaching foreign languages in middle schools is to enable the student to use them as tools for advanced academic studies in college. But is the majority of middle school graduates preparing to enter college? This is hardly the case. With the exception of the "lucky few," most middle school graduates have to embark upon a career and begin the serious business of earning a living.

Distinction Suggested

Should we not, therefore, make some distinction in our foreign language courses for those who will continue their studies after graduation from middle school and are prepared to enter college, and for others who will enter the business world directly upon graduation from middle school?

Desirable as it may be, this distinction, nevertheless, is seldom observed in our schools at present. For instance, while interesting to the prospective collegian, difficult passages from English literature are of little use to future businessmen, to whom practical English courses in conversation and correspondence would be of far greater value.

Years of observation and contact with Chinese students have revealed one surprising fact to this writer—that the average middle school graduate, after studying English for six or eight years, can seldom speak English fluently. Ofter, he neither understands English when spoken to, nor can he write a simple business letter in English without making mistakes. It is not uncommon to find that sometimes even college students, including juniors and seniors, cannot understand simple news reports printed in English magazines. When they go to the cinema to see a Hollywood "talkie," they often have to wear a pair of ear phones and rely on the verbal translation of a Chinese interpreter.

Pupils' Difficulties

During his frequent, intimate talks with Chinese schoolboys, this writer has discovered one of the main reasons for their considering the English language a difficult subject. Simply stated, this is: In spite of the growing intercourse between China and the Western countries and the increasing use of the English language in social contacts, the average Chinese student has little chance to speak or hear English outside his classroom. In most Chinese families, English is neither spoken nor understood, and the student, after leaving the classroom, has no practical opportunity of applying his theoretical knowledge of English.

Even the classroom is not very helpful. The teacher merely reads the text and explains it in Chinese, having neither the time nor the interest to talk to his pupils in English. The reading method, while useful in correcting the student's pronunciation, certainly is not as effective as the direct method—the Berlitz method, for instance—of teaching fluent conversation. Since English is a living language, we should teach our students not only to read and write, but also to speak it, for in actual business life conversational is far more important that written English.

Touching on instruction material, this writer wishes to express his dissatisfaction with most of the English readers which are in current use in our schools. The arrangement of material is often illogical, neglecting words and phrases in daily use and giving undue importance to classic selections. In this respect, one cannot but express admiration for certain French readers —"Les Lectures Enfantines" and "Les Extraits des Ecrivains Francais", for instance—which are far superior to most English readers available on the market, both in arrangement and presentation of material.

The way English grammar is taught in some Chinese schools is really as astounding as it is wasteful and inefficient. Quite often, at the end of a semester only the first few chapters of a textbook on English grammar have been covered. With the beginning of the next semester a new and more advanced textbook is used and, as in the first case, the study of the text is terminated with the end of school year. Most textbooks on English grammar deal with nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs, in the first few chapters, leaving the more difficult parts of speech, namely, verbs, prepositions, and conjunctions to the last chapters. Therefore, after studying English grammar for four or five years, the student often has a sound knowledge of nouns, etc., though only a superficial grasp of verbs and their connectives.

Why not finish the textbook in two semesters, if one is insufficient? Or else, if both textbooks are required, why not rearrange the material in such a way that the student may have an opportunity to study verbs as well as nouns?

Study Simplified

Some French grammars certainly are very well written with their material logically arranged. The "Methode Crouzet," for instance, aims at making the study of grammar both simple and complete for all grades of students. Even in a modified form, this method has seldom been adopted by English grammarians, with the exception of Nesfield and a few others.

M. Vessiot, a French educator and grammarian, has justly remarked: "Une grammaire doit etre comme un jardin ou l'on se promene dans des allees droites et larges, non un bois ou l'on se perd dans d'inextricables sentiers. (A grammar should be like a garden where one walks along straight and wide avenues, not woods where one is lost in inextricable paths.) This advice, based on mature experience and sound pedagogy, should be kept in mind and followed with advantage in the preparation of any new textbook of English grammar.

Another obstacle to the efficient teaching of foreign languages in Chinese schools is the lack of contact between the teacher and his students outside the classroom. It is generally recognized that conversation in any language can be best taught in an informal social atmosphere, wherein the student feels completely at ease and the question of grades or marks does not check his attempts at self-expression in the foreign tongue he is trying to master. This favorable atmosphere is absent in most Chinese schools. Many students have come to this writer, saying that they would like to learn oral English or French. He tells them that the simple principle of "learning by doing", is the most efficient way of learning conversation in a foreign language. He further advises them "just to talk" with their teacher in the language they wish to master. "But he is too busy to talk with us outside the classroom," is the reply. The adoption of some sort of "tutorial system," such as they have in England, may help to overcome this difficulty.

Special Groups

While every student who desires to learn a foreign language should be given an opportunity to do so in school, special attention should be paid to teaching the following groups of students:—

1. Those who plan to enter the diplomatic and consular services.
2. Those who plan to become teachers of foreign languages.
3. Those who are especially interested in foreign literature.
4. Those who need one or two foreign languages to assist them as tools in the study of law, engineering, medicine, or other academic subjects.
5. Those who will devote their lives to the translation of foreign works into the Chinese language.

The first four groups need no explanation. As to the fifth, a word or two may be necessary. While a department or faculty of foreign languages is maintained in every Chinese college or university, no special division is devoted to the training of translators. Translation is offered only as one of the courses of the foreign language department and the course is usually completed in one semester. Such a course, completed in such a brief period, is inadequate and entirely out of proportion with the complicated cultural responsibility which the prospective career translator will be called upon to fulfill.

What is this cultural responsibility of the career translator? Suffice it to say, it is as important as that of the educator. In a sense, a translator is also an educator. As mentioned already, only a small percentage of Chinese students now studying foreign languages will ever be able to reach the advanced stage where they may read original foreign works with comprehension and benefit. The majority of them will discontinue their studies after their graduation from middle school. These students, and the broad masses of the Chinese people who have never had the opportunity to learn a foreign language, but who are interested in Western culture, must rely on the translator as a medium of Sino-foreign cultural relationship.

If his is a cultural mission, should we not pay greater attention to the career translator's training in college. A translator's task is by no means an easy one. To be successful, he must be able to translate not only the letter but also the spirit of the original work. His style must be pure and easy, and his knowledge of both languages—foreign and native — must be thorough, if not perfect. It takes many years of training, and still more years of experience, to become an expert translator. A bad translator, like a bad translation, is worse than useless.

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The French Aren't French In Indo-China

Andrew Roth

(The writer of this article is an American correspondent now travelling in the Pacific and Southeast Asia. Mr. Roth is the author of "Dilemma in Japan."—EDITOR.)

Saigon.

THE night was "quiet" in Saigon. Only occasional bursts of machinegun fire rent the silence of its outskirts. At a gathering in a private home a young, blonde French army officer was asked about the activities of his unit, for the benefit of the visitor from abroad. He answered calmly: "This week the natives killed a buddy of mine. So we went to the area in which he was killed, seized several natives in the fields nearby, tied rope around their necks and dragged them behind our trucks. After several kilometers they were all dead, so we tossed them beside the road, as a warning."

A listener, newly arrived in Indochina, asked: "How could you do that?" The young officer, surprised that anyone should ask, replied: "Well, they killed my buddy, didn't they?" He did not see resemblance between this indiscriminate victimization and the similar terrorism practiced by the Nazis in France....

Not French

Although they use the same language and claim the same nationality, scarcely any of the Frenchmen who hold the beleaguered bridgeheads in Indochina bear any resemblance to the *sansculottes* who fought for liberty in 1789 or the *maquis* who inspired the world by their resistance to the Nazis

In Europe the Frenchman is outstanding for the degree of his freedom from racialism. But here he definitely belongs to a "Master Race." "Ces salauds" ("These filthy ones") is the usual French colonist's description of the inhabitants of Indochina (or Vietnam as the indigenous people prefer to call it). Discrimination descends to the pettiest things. The ration for goods in short supply like sugar and cloth has never been equal. During the war when there was a shortage of European-style sugar, the French banned the production of Annamite sugar in order to increase the supply for the small number of Europeans. A Vietnamese citizen working for the Government here will only get 60 percent as much pay and even less in family allowances than a Frenchman with the same degree, position and seniority.

In September, 1945, the French banned all Indochinese (or Vietnamese, as they prefer to be called) lawyers, regardless of their political attitude and forced any who wished to practice again to make individual application. And a Frenchman's killing a Vietnamese is not really murder, for there is a double standard in justice, too. The judge and jury are French and Frenchmen get off very lightly for the same crime for which Vietnamese pay with many years of their lives. Even at the Cercle Sportif, Saigon's swish sport club, membership is restricted to "Europeans and Assimilated," the latter being the Eurasians and the handful of Vietnamese and other well-to-do colonials who have taken French citizenship.

Two Conflicts

After a press conference in November, in which this reporter slightly flustered Georges Duhamel by asking whether France wouldn't be wise to follow the precedent of Britain in Burma, Duhamel, who is permanent secretary of the French Academy and President of the Alliance Francaise, took me aside and said, "There are only two major conflicts in the world, that against Communism, and against the colored races. France and the US stand shoulder to shoulder in both of these. But we are poor and you are rich and you must give us aid."

In Indochina the French are conquerors and act with all the characteristics of conquerors. The newspaper, *L'Union Francaise* carries in a box at the top of its front page, a 20-year-old quotation from France's great imperialist, Marshal Lyautey: "Claim the fine title of colonist, at this time above all, when a whole school seems to deny the grandeur and the effectiveness of France's colonial effort." And there was furore in local circles when Saigon's Prefet, Monsieur Lami, a Socialist who has retained some of his socialist ideas even in Indochina, said in a speech over Radio Saigon that the cement of the edifice of the French Union would "no longer be hatred or oppression, but mutual understanding of duties and rights under equality."

Hitler's Youth

As conquerors the French have used any instrument to continue their hold, no matter how dirty. They have even forgotten that the Caodaoists, a local religious sect with which they are now aligned, was precisely that which served the Japanese against the French most effectively from March until August, 1945. They are willing to forget that Tran Van An, the Minister of Information in the puppet Cochinchina government, said, "I was most satisfied to think that the French pirates and assassins have been overthrown and await their complete extermination," over the Singapore radio in 1945. They have no qualms about using 15,000 German soldiers in the Foreign Legion, although almost all are fervent young Hitler-reared Nazis.

Perhaps they have so little difficulty in associating themselves with the pro-Japanese and with the Nazis because such a large proportion of the French in Indo-China are themselves former collaborationists. In the press now one reads letters about "poor Admiral Decoux," who so avidly collaborated with the Japanese during the war and wrote: "French authorities in Indo-China will collaborate by all possible means with the Japanese Army....We will give the Japanese Army all facilities for its movements and the execution of military operations." Paul Gannay, head of the Banque de l'Indochine was in Japan from 1942 to 1944, and was perhaps Indo-China's foremost economic collaborator. Henry de la Chevrotiere, political director of the leading French-language journal *l'Union Francaise* sold his newspaper *Depeche* to the Japanese for 200,000 Piastres.

There are also many who fled to Indochina from France in the hope of escaping the penalties of having collaborated with the Germans. At the beginning of 1946, there were some 400 colonels in Saigon, mostly Petainists who feared the consequence of their collaboration. The editor of the *Journal de Saigon*, Jules Haag, was editor of *Le Jour*, outstanding collaborationist newspaper of Paris. He came here as Lieutenant-Colonel in charge of press relations for Admiral D'Argenlieu. There are many smaller fry, including a number who had worked as informers and police agents for the Gestapo against the French Maquis.

Apparently the same mentality which caused France's colonial collaborationists to fire at the British fleet at Dakar, makes them intensely anti-American today. Every American is considered "an advance agent for American imperialism" and those who are friendly to Americans run considerable risks. Usually there are Surete agents spotted in the US Reading Room and near the US Consulate-General in Saigon. Recently the cook of an American Vice-Consul was knocked down by a French military truck and his bicycle wrecked. The Vice-Consul asked for reimbursement. Instead the military police came and arrested the cook, claiming he had been distributing leaflets, although in this case it was very apparent that the cook had no political interests whatever. He was beaten steadily for two days and then released, but only after repeated intervention.

At the beginning of December, the French finally released a clerk at

the Consulate-General after six weeks' imprisonment, apparently for the "crime" of being too pro-American. He had worked for the Office of Strategic Services and later for the Consulate-General. He spoke excellent English and was planning to go to college in the States, something which only two Vietnamese have been able to wrangle at present. When he went over to the Surete to ask for his passport he was told: "You are entirely too friendly with the Americans," and was arrested on October 16, allegedly because he had acted as a post office for the underground resistance. He was only released after strenuous intervention by the Consul-General who was compelled to pledge that no publicity would be given to this arrest.

Too Comfortable

"The best French are the new ones,' said a retired Vietnamese official who spent his life working with French administrators. "But they soon lose the democratic ideas they had at home. Its too comfortable to have other people working for you." And indeed it is amazing for an impartial or even pro-French observer to see former French Maquis and others who had fought heroically for the liberation of their own country fight here for the subjugation of another. When a much-decorated French officer, who had escaped a Nazi prison to fight again, was asked how he could do it, he gave the stock answer: "We have to fight here—after our defeat in 1940—or the world will think that Frenchmen cannot fight." In many cases, however, the young Maqui, who, perhaps, volunteered to fight the Japanese, is told on the boat coming out that the anti-French movement here is Japanese-inspired. He comes ashore and before he has found out the truth, a few of his close buddies have been killed in ambush by Vietnamese snipers and he develops a hatred for the Vietnamese.

A few French have retained their democratic traditions. In February, 1946, some 30 or 40 French leftists, including army officers, signed a letter to Admiral D'Argenlieu saying that the only solution for the Indochinese problem was to recognize its independence in the French Union and to cease fighting. Without their permission it was published in the Socialist newspapers *L'Avenir* and *Justice*. Several days later General Le Clerc whipped up his troops by telling them that these Frenchmen were "traitors" who had "stabbed French soldiers in the back" and wished to see them "thrown into the sea". That night French soldiers burned and destroyed the plant of *Justice*, damaged *L'Avenir* and a French major shaved the head of one of the women signers of the letter, put a sign "traitor" on her back and paraded her up and down Saigon's main street, Rue Catinat, under guard. He was not punished.

There are still a few holding out today, but some are in prison. For example, there is Jean Chesneaux who was sent here on a mission by the Bureau Universitaire Entr'aide of Geneva. He was in the resistance movement in Paris during the war and was expecting to travel to China and the US after leaving here. He crossed the French lines to visit the Vientnamese resistance areas and was picked up by a military patrol in September as he returned. He is still in prison at this point, although there is no possible statute under which he can be tried, since France is not officially at war with the Vietnamese.

Arrested at the same time was Jean Jacques Petalot, 23-year-old French army officer and former Resistance leader. In 1940, he printed an underground paper in Lorraine, for which he was tortured and spent two years in a German prison. He escaped and became liaison officer between the Maquis of Lorraine and Paris. He served with the French occupation forces in Germany and then was sent to Indochina. A communist, he became leader of the Marxist Cultural Group in Saigon—a group of some 200 leftwing socialists and communists who have opposed French policy here—and soon made known to his superiors that he had no desire to fight the Vietnamese. He was transferred to the Information Service but was constantly followed by the Secret Service. He made two trips to the Vietnamese Maquis districts and it was on his third trip with Chesneaux that he was arrested.

That is the situation in Indo-China today. A former hero of the French resistance is in jail for contacting his opposite numbers among the Vietnamese. Meanwhile the young Nazi soldiers in the Foreign Legion can afford to smile. Although they were defeated in France, the French seem to have taken over their ideology here.

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Wanted: Currency Stabilization Not Reform

C. Y. W. Meng

CHINESE leaders have often urged tehir people to resort to *tzu li keng sen*, which means "seek revival through one's own efforts." If there is any project in China today which, in our opinion, can be more readily accomplished by self-help than by foreign aid, it is that of currency stabilization. In our view, currency stabilization is a project in which we Chinese must exhaust all our own means before seeking foreign aid. It gives us an excellent opportunity to demonstrate our ability to accomplish a revival of our nation through our own efforts.

Should the present situation be permitted to continue, the following consequences will ensue. First, there will be more and more concentration of capital and wealth in the hands of a few men in the country at the expense of the majority of the people. The rich, through speculation and hoarding, can earn money and thus become richer, while the poor are rendered poorer. The worst sufferer is the Common Man in China.

Secondly, under present conditions, no funds are likely to flow into industrial and productive channels, but will be more heavily concentrated in non-productive speculation and hoarding businesses. The simple reason for this is that interest rates, as well as profits from such dealings, are decidedly higher and quicker than any industrial undertaking.

Thirdly, the present situation has a most demoralizing effect upon the people. Honesty has ceased to be the best policy and the situation has encouraged the people to become greedy and corrupt.

An immediate relief remedy, not a long-range plan, is required in such a critical situation. We need a simple and practical plan which will, first of all, revive and stabilize the value of Chinese currency by restoring the confidence of the people in it. After a lapse of time, during which the people's confidence in the currency has been restored, we may begin our currency reform.

We believe many Chinese economists will agree with us that the whole program must be divided into two parts: stabilization and then reform. It seems to us that most people are terribly confused in demanding both at once. For this reason, some people have already begun to argue among themselves as to whether China should adopt a gold standard or return to a silver standard. Our answer is that now is not the time for either—it is only the time for currency stabilization.

We believe the proposal for the adoption of a gold standard at the present time can be dismissed at once. As for the silver standard, we find that, except for the small nation of Abyssinia, all the countries in the world have already abandoned silver as a currency standard.

Major Event

In this connection, Dr. Arthur N. Young, financial adviser of the National Government, states:

"Unquestionably, China's adoption of a managed currency in November, 1935, was a major event in the recent history of the Orient. The heavy outlay required by the war could not have been financed on a hard money basis; and under conditions as they existed, a transition from the silver standard to a paper currency could scarcely have been made without a serious shock to confidence. All these developments provided effective resources and financial machinery without which China's stubborn resistance to Japan's invasion would have been impossible. The opening of the hostilities found China's public finance in good shape, with revenue at record figures and a strong foundation laid for her fiscal and currency system."

Therefore, it would be a great pity if China abandons what has been accomplished in the past and rank herself next to Abyssinia in adopting the silver standard.

Mr. Hsu Pei-yuan, Vice-Minister of Finance, has said that the United States can help China in currency reform either by lending her 400,000,000 ounces of silver, in order to facilitate the re-adoption of the silver standard, or by granting China a loan for a currency reform based on a foreign exchange standard. He argued that for thousands of years the Chinese currency had been on a silver standard and that the Chinese people had an implicit faith in silver. "Therefore, if our currency can be restored to the silver standard, it will have the effect of stabilizing prices and the livelihood of our people," he said.

He further pointed out that in southwest America there is an excessive production of silver, and, consequently, the prospecting work of silver mines had to be stopped. It seems to the Vice-Minister that it

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would be advisable to use what is not wanted in the States for what is needed in China.

However, the United States Treasury's daily report, dated January 5, 1948, disclosed that the Treasury holds only some 183,800,000 ounces of silver, accumulated at a cost of US$90,972,000 which is termed free silver and is uncommitted. All other silver held by the US Treasury represents silver coin or bullion backing for the US paper dollar.

We know that one of the strong arguments for China's going back to a silver standard at this time is that such a currency may have the people's confidence and will thus result in currency hoarding rather than commodity hoarding. Consequently, it will greatly stabilize prices.

Hoarding Undesirable

While admitting the validity of this argument, we must point out that such drastic hoarding of currency is not desirable, for it is likely to be quickly followed by deflation, which is equally harmful to our industry and commerce.

Leaving this controversy, let us study the suggestions of Dr. Tachung Liu, a professor at the National Tsinghua University. Advising the Chinese to study the causes of the recent devaluation of the ruble in the Soviet Union, Professor Liu, in an article published in *Ta Kung Pao*, suggested several measures for the stabilization of prices. They are enumerated briefly as follows:

(1) New bank notes should be issued immediately, necessitating the recall of all old notes from circulation within a specific and short time, and at a different ratio of exchange, with a view "to attaining the re-distribution of wealth." He suggested the ratio of 10,000 to one for all government employees, school teachers and salaried classes, and 100,000 to one for other amounts of notes in circulation.

(2) All deposit and loan operations of commercial and native banks should be suspended. No new notes should be given to these banks pending further definite arrangements.

(3) All these banks, however, should be exempted from legal responsibilities for the delay in payment of deposits within the said specific short period. Detailed regulations for the repayment of these deposits should be formulated later.

(4) All commercial and native banks should be ordered to make reports on names of depositors, together with the amounts and names of debtors, private individuals as well as corporations.

(5) On the basis of these reports of deposits, the Government should decide which portion of the deposits are to be frozen or blocked, heavily taxed or even confiscated. Similarly, on the basis of these reports, the Government can discover whether the receivers of the bank loans have engaged in speculation and hoarding activities.

(6) The new notes to be given to these banks should be limited to the amount of loans to be extended by them to factories engaged in productive enterprises.

In another article entitled, "Revival Should Begin With the Currency," Professor Liu pointed out that by taking advantage of a new note issue, the Government can exercise far more effective control over the deposit and loan operations of all commercial and native banks.

He characterized as "ineffectual" present financial measures, such as the suspension of government bank loans, the limitation of remittances to Shanghai and the search for US dollars and gold bars. In addition, the limitation of interest rates on deposits and loans, the examination of accounts of commercial and native banks by the Financial Control Bureau in four principal cities, the promulgation of various regulations governing the suppression of hoarding and the dispatching of a technical mission to America to negotiate a loan were described as impractical by Professor Liu.

Throughout his writings, Professor Liu attacks the commercial and native banks. He would punish the speculators and hoarders, who so enormously enriched themselves during the national crisis and at the time of the Japanese surrender, by freezing part of their wealth and by taxing another part of it through the imposition of a Business Tax and Income Tax. Professor Liu strongly opposes stabilizing the value of China's currency through foreign aid.

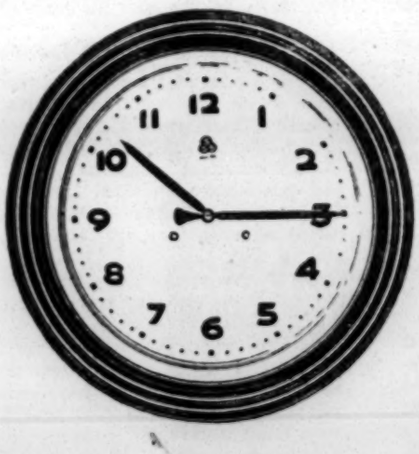
Property Registration

We are also of the opinion that by these measures, the Government will have an opportunity to carry out the registration of property for the enforcement of the Property Tax. The Government can decree that the exchange for new notes will be conditioned upon the presentation of verified property reports. Registration of property has been one of the stumbling blocks in the enforcement of the Property Tax, and this would be an appropriate time to kill two birds with one stone.

What Professor Liu has not discussed in his proposals is the problem of securing a strong reserve against the new note issue. Is a US$300,000,000 loan from America necessary as a stabilization fund to back a new issue of the Chinese currency, or can we go on with stabilization measures without American aid?

In this respect, let us refer to another article, "Our Currency Must Be Reformed," which was the subject of an address delivered before the faculty and students of the National Central University, October 15, 1947, by Chu Chih, director of the Currency Department of the Ministry of Finance.

After discussing the seriousness of the present currency inflation and drawing an analogy between today's situation in China with that prevailing in Germany in 1923, he



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The Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury

19 Chung Cheng Road, Shanghai (13).

pointed out how the worthless German mark was at last saved by the issuance of the Reutenmark by the Land Bank. To this end all available machinery, equipment, land and real estate was used as reserve. He explained that Germany started her currency reform "without either gold or foreign exchange." In 1924, the newly formed German Federal Bank recalled Reutenmarks from circulation and Germany returned to the gold standard. He attributed the success of the German currency reform to the issuance of the Reutenmark in 1923.

But the Director pointed out significantly that the various industrial "Units" now under the management and operation of the National Resources Commission are by no means small. "These, together with other Government-operated enterprises and the amount of gold and foreign exchange held by four Government Banks (the Central Bank of China, the Bank of China, the Bank of Communications and the Farmers' Bank of China), the Central Trust of China and the Postal Savings and Remittances Bank, which hold all the national wealth, should form an excellent reserve against a new note issue," he said. He added that national wealth does not necessarily mean gold and foreign exchange alone. "In other words, we don't have to use gold and foreign exchange in order to effect our currency reform. To depend on foreign loans and aid is not the way out for us," he concluded.

Independence Of Issue

This leads us to consider the new note issue. In another article, entitled "Currency Reform and the Independence of Note Issue," in the *Ta Kung Pao*, Professor Chu Pieyin proposed another prerequisite for currency reform—the independence of note issue." By this, he meant that the note issue of the Central Bank of China should not be regulated entirely and directly by the National Treasury.

According to Professor Chu, the National Treasury may come to the Bank for advances in payments if necessary. "But the National Treasury must follow a definite procedure and must designate a definite source of revenue for the repayment of these advances," he said.

Like Professor Liu, Professor Chu is of the opinion that such financial measures as tightening the money market through the withdrawal of Government loans is "ineffectual," for it is a measure which would take place after the notes were already in circulation. What should be done is to do something before the note issue. According to him, the control must be vested in the Central Bank of China, and independent of the National Treasury.

After a brief study of the many suggestions from Chinese economists, we should have little difficulty in deciding what our plan should be. A combination of all the measures advanced by these professors forms a currency stabilization plan that is applicable at present. However, we wish to add a few supplementary proposals.

(1) All old notes, including the special Taiwan currency, should be recalled from circulation within the shortest possible time and a kind of "script" issued at a different ratio of exchange. This ratio should vary from 1,000 to 200,000 to one, according to the wealth of the holder and conditioned upon the presentation of a certificate of property registration.

No Change

(2) There should be no change in the present standard of currency.

(3) The Ministry of Finance should release the figures of new note issues from time to time.

(4) A committee composed of government officials and representatives of industrial and commercial organizations and the people should be organized by the Central Bank of China to supervise the new note issue.

(5) The independence of note issue should be observed. If needed, the National Treasury may seek an overdraft from the Central Bank of China, but repayment must be assured.

(6) All national assets and properties, Government-operated enterprises, including former enemy and confiscated properties, should be earmarked as reserve against the new note issue and complete figures should be published.

(7) When all these measures are enforced, the present control of foreign exchange should be lifted. Then the black market would die a natural death.

Open Policy

In other words, we stand for an "Open Policy." We believe that keeping the people in the dark, by adopting a "Secret Policy" of withholding all figures of note issue and reserve from publication, is ill-advised and can only harm the Government.

For this reason, we also urge the immediate enforcement of the Property Tax and Luxury Purchase Tax, the augmentation of Direct Taxes and the collection of more "Soak the Rich Taxes" and "Leisured Class Taxes." All these taxes will open up new sources of revenue and, in the long run, will balance the national budget, and stabilize prices most effectively.

Lastly, we consider the dumping of "USA Made" consumer's goods on the Chinese market in an attempt to stabilize prices a very poor policy. The proper method of stabilizing prices is through the stabilization of the value of our currency by maintaining the people's confidence in our notes as much as possible. Many Chinese economists believe that this can be accomplished without gold, foreign exchange or foreign aid. What is required is the will, courage and spirit to seek revival through our own efforts.

THE FRANC AND YOU

J. R. Kaim

"LET the French do whatever they want with their franc; it's no business of ours." This was the tenor of many statements made here last week. Actually, however, what France has decided to do with her currency and why she has been forced to do it are both issues of world importance.

France is manipulating her franc. She has established, contrary to the wishes of the International Monetary Fund, a free market for gold and for hard currency. She has devalued her currency with a view to improving her export trade, and this has been justly labeled a "beggar my neighbor" policy.

Protests Made

The Fund has protested. Britain has protested. The United States has expressed warnings. Sir Stafford Cripps hurried to Paris, hoping to come to terms with the obstinate French. The Fund decided to send permanent observers to France to observe the free gold market and to attempt to "work out a satisfactory agreement with France on this subject", since the Fund, in its stated program, is against currency depreciation.

The French point of view is very simple. Devastated by the war and the systematic choking of her economy by Germany during the occupation, France has been trying for two years now to rebuild her industries and to normalize her currency. She has not been able to do so. Constant political wrangling and strikes have disrupted her home front, while struggles in Indo-China and Madagascar have weakened her world front. Something had to be done, and quickly, for her leaders doubted that they could afford to sit back and wait for Marshall Aid to bring about miracles. Britain and the Fund were against the proposed French plan, but since neither were able to offer a better solution, France went ahead in the face of their objections.

Devaluation of currency as a method of reviving a national economy is not new, and its shortcomings are equally familiar. When a nation reduces its currency below the so-called equilibrium rate, its products appear cheap and are sold more easily. It is necessary, however, that the nation which does this have a quantity of goods sufficient to supply the demand which it has created. Whether France has remains to be seen.

But all devices to stimulate exports artificially tend to drive other producers out of business. Logic shows, and history proves, that such policies lead to economic warfare, for other nations will not meekly swallow the bitter pill of being undersold on the world market. They will retaliate by preventing the "guilty" nation from reaching its export goals. Special import restrictions and specially planned currency regulations may be applied to hit at the offender's interests. A counter campaign may be launched. Economic warfare, then, swiftly becomes international, and the fight is carried to corners of the world. Remember the situation in the first half of the 1930s?

Important Decision

It should be obvious why France's decision is of international importance. Any country suffering from what it considers cutthroat competition will limit its imports and thus decrease world consumption and world trade. The consequences will be felt from small, hard-currency Switzerland to huge, soft-currency China.

Strictly from her own point of view, no one can forsee whether France will, in the long run, profit from her new policy. All will depend on price developments and on

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her industry's ability to produce enough of the right goods quickly enough. If this happens, the plan may prove practical; if not, it may lead to disaster.

While we cannot be sure of the outcome of France's decision, we do know that she could see no other way out of her dilemma. Always interested in international collaboration, she has, nevertheless, been obliged to behave in a very uncooperative manner in order to save her own neck. This situation, one should think, points up the fact that international monetary institutions are too artificial and too much dependent upon theories to allow effective collective planning. The gyrations, in the course of 1947, of the international gold markets are proof of this, as are the decisions of both France and Italy to fight for their economic reconstruction without consideration for the Fund's and Bank's fundamental regulations.

This lapse into pre-war economic thinking shows that, to an important extent, these two great world institutions, the Fund and the Bank, have failed. When, in the fall of 1944, it was proposed at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference to establish an international organization to maintain "Peace on Earth," it was generally accepted that the first goal should be economic world stability. That France and, to a lesser extent, Italy have been permitted to go their own ways shows that this goal is farther away than ever.

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The Week's Business

MOVEMENTS on the money, stock and commodity markets during the week under review—January 28 to February 4—were contradictory but on the whole less erratic than had been expected.

While the political situation was far from encouraging and strikes, unrest, and riots indicated a worsening of the social-political position, stocks regained part of what they had lost the week before and the private interest rate came down from almost 29 percent per month to 22 percent.

On Saturday, January 31 the Social Affairs Bureau announced its Cost Of Living Indices which, contrary to expectations, showed considerable increases, compared with December, namely, by 39.5 percent for workers and 37.7 percent for office employees. To small and medium-size firms, such an announcement came as bad news; with bank credits extremely tightened, the 13th month bonus to be paid to both workers and employees, some managements actually did not know where to find the necessary funds.

Apparently, however, labor was dissatisfied in spite of all. More demands were made by cotton mill workers which, on February 2, led to what may well be called a plant rebellion. In their battle with the police, three of the strikers lost their lives, while scores were wounded. However, labor not only lost the actual struggle but also public sympathy; in fact, to find people in Shanghai, no matter what their "class" or nationality who considered the workers' demands justified was an almost impossible job.

When, one day after the riot, local stock quotations regained part of their losses, in spite of various new strike rumors, this was regarded, by many market observers as indicating that labor had lost ground.

The morning after the riot, the Central Bank announced new foreign exchange rates, hiking the dollar cover rate from CNC$119,500 to CNC$131,500 and the Sterling rate from CNC$375,000 to CNC$413,000. By doing so, the Bank probably, made use of an opportunity; more than once had official exchange rates been called unrealistic and when during the week under review, black market quotations dropped, the Bank's rate increase carried official prices very near the unofficial ones. Indeed, when the new rates were announced, they were only about 15 percent below black market quotations.

At the same time, the money market saw amazing developments.

Usually, money is extremely scarce around the Lunar Festival ("Chinese New Year"). Accounts are to be settled and, for this purpose, funds have to be collected. The money market, however, was not tight at all at the beginning of February, Chinese New Year being on February 10. As mentioned above, the private interest rate came down, shares were bought and commodities ordered and paid for in cash.

Probably, due to such unexpected facts, the market became more cheerful. Forecasts for the New Year settlement which had been rather gloomy the week before, were more optimistic. The number of "wounded" and "killed" firms was believed to be very small this year in spite of the many difficulties business has been faced with during the past few weeks.

As to business in general, prices, of course, went up during the week, but up to the time of writing such advances still were below the officially acknowledged depreciation of the legal tender. In other words, with a few exceptions, commodities, in terms of foreign exchange, were cheaper than the week before and exports were believed to have been possible. Generally not fond of admitting good business results, some firms stated that trade results last week had been "not too bad." They added, however, that with wages and overhead expenses increasing, as indicated in or caused by the swiftly growing Cost-Of-Living Index, difficulties have increased in many respects.

Meanwhile, the monetary situation was characterized by news to the effect that the Ministry of Finance has drawn up a set of measures with a view to preventing the carrying of large amounts in banknotes from the interior to bigger cities such as Shanghai, Tientsin, Canton. Passengers carrying banknotes exceeding CNC$200,000,000 now need a special permit. In this respect it may be remembered that bank remittances to major cities may not exceed the above amount either.

Quotations

Stocks	Jan. 28	Feb. 4
	CNC$	CNC$
Wing On Textiles	761	708
Mayar Silk	1,280	1,060
Commercial Press	380	345
Wing On Co.	300	260
Ewo Cotton	570,000	545,000
Bond C	64,000	65,500

Commodities	Jan. 28	Feb. 4
	CNC$	CNC$
White Rice, first	1,450,000	1,650,000
Wheat Flour	640,000	655,000
Peanut Oil	3,450,000	3,820,000
Raw Silk "C"	94,000,000	89,000,000
Jap. Rayon	86,500,000	91,000,000
Cotton Yarn 42	58,000,000	61,700,000
Cotton Yarn 20	34,500,000	39,300,000
Caustic Soda	52,000,000	49,000,000
Koo Pun Soap	1,780,000	2,050,000

The Review's English Lesson—XVII

THE PARTICIPIAL PHRASE

MR. A. L. Chen of Wenchow sends in a number of questions about the participial phrase in its use in the English language, suggesting, quite rightly, that all Chinese students of English are puzzled by it. This week's lesson, therefore, attempts to define the fundamentals of this type of phrase and illustrates its use with examples quoted from the *Review* by Mr. Chen.

The participial phrase is two or more words closely related, of which usually the first is a participle and at least one other word its noun or adjective complement or object. A participle, as readers know, is a form of the verb used as an adjective would be used; that is, to describe something by stating its movement or action or position as the result of a movement or action. Examples of participles are: **fluctuating** currency, **rising** tide of discontent, **lying** bureaucrats, temporarily **steadied** economy, and the **quoted** passages. In each case the participle describes the noun immediately following it.

Examples of participial phrases are: **"Losing control of the situation**, the officials issued ridiculous directives." And, "They threw out of consideration all suggestions, **censoring everything, thereby borrowing their principles from the last of the Roman emperors.** In the first of these examples **losing** is the participle, **control** is its noun object, and **officials** is the word the phrase describes, **of the situation** being a prepositional phrase within the participial phrase, being used to describe control. In the second example there are two phrases based on participles; the first consisting of **censoring**, a participle, and its object, **everything**, the second being the rest of the sentence, with **borrowing** the participle, **principles** its object, and two prepositional phrases as integral modifiers. This long phrase also modifies **officials.**

To gain practice in recognizing participles and participial phrases, readers might well go through the paragraph above and pick the many examples beyond those explained. There are three at the end of the next to the last sentence with participles understood.

In loose grammatical discussion, however, any group of words centering about a verb form ending in **ing** is called a participial phrase. Frequently the gerund, a form that looks like the participle, is confused with the participle, when it is used as the object of a preposition, as in, "In **defining** the new requirements, the officials issued a special directive." Here a relationship is set up by **in** between **defining**, a noun form of the verb, or gerund, and the verb, **issued.** The sentence might have been: "The officials issued a special directive **defining** the new requirements." Now **defining** is a participle, and with the help of its object, **requirements**, modifying the noun, **directive.** The two sentences are very little different in meaning, but the emphasis is not the same.

And now the lesson sets out to answer Mr. Chen's questions. He asks what kind of a clause, by which he means what conjunction would introduce a clause, to be substituted for the phrase in the following sentence: "It (the practice) would encourage the Chinese dailies to do likewise, thus impairing the Government's efforts to conserve newsprint." The adverb **thus**, and the word modified, **practice**, seem to indicate result as the connotation of the phrase; therefore, a clause substituted for the phrase might be: "It would ....likewise; therefore, the Government's efforts to conserve newsprint would be impaired." "We have never had any rationed newsprint, having always been dependent upon the blackmarket," contains a phrase which, Mr. Chen suggests, may show result; but the phrase denotes only. Nor do the phrases in the following sentences do more than add to the reader's understanding of the word they describe:

Congressman Judd denied allegations against the Central Government, saying that stories of corruption were propaganda.

There are many people who would change it entirely, deserting the capitalistic system.

We are printing more in this lesson, hoping that readers will like them.

The Ministry of Commerce of the Siamese Government turned over its second shipment of postwar Japanese textiles to the Chamber of Commerce for distribution, fixing the price 25 percent lower than the first shipment.

For without conjunctions to indicate what the intention of the modifier is, participial phrases usually have no other use but the main one. If a writer really wants to show a relationship between a word and its modifier, he uses a conjunction or a preposition. But unless it is necessary, and in journalistic writing, when giving facts, it is not usually necessary, the participial phrase is more concise.

And so the lesson, without answering Mr. Chen's questions, may have removed his puzzlement.

What U.S. Papers Say . . .

THE recent statement of British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin on the need for closer economic cooperation among the nations of Western Europe aroused considerable editorial comment in American papers last week. The dispute between India and Pakistan over the status of Kashmir was discussed by several papers.

* * *

Western Europe

THE *New York Herald Tribune* said: "When the economic changes brought about by the war are taken into consideration the new impetus toward a union of Western Europe is readily understandable. Such a union is still far from inevitable, despite the harsh logic of facts which spur it on. The European recovery program gives a framework for and an incentive toward closer economic relations, and these are finding wide acceptance. Nevertheless, the current quarrel between Britain and France over the devaluation of the franc indicates the difficulties which will have to be surmounted before an economic union could become effective.

"Nevertheless, the idea of a united Europe, even of a truncated Europe, is a great one, and the need for such a union is urgent. If economic collaboration succeeds, the practice of working together should bear fruit in other fields, and the development of a practical federation of Western Europe need not proceed at glacial pace. Historic processes have been greatly accelerated within recent years and adversity is a stern teacher."

The *New York Times* stated: "Russia has been able to force her will on little, disunited nations along her boundaries, but she has not made them converts to Communism. If there were a real United States of Europe—which Bevin did not suggest as a present possibility—moral and intellectual opposition to the westward flow of Communism would be so great that the temptation to spread it by military means would be vastly reduced."

The *Washington Post* declared: "Interdependence worked out in political and economic relations with all like-minded peoples has become the last chance of our civilization. The fact admits of no argument. It is not enough to throw up a third force as a sort of Atlantic Maginot Line between America and Russia. That merely gains time. Preventive war is equally out of the question, for, even if this were possible, and even if the United States won, there would simply be ashes for reconstruction, and no vitality left to do it. Statesmanship requires that we constantly and positively search for unity so intensive and so extensive that the odds of a Russian gamble in conquest would appear to the doctrinaire Kremlin to be too wide for comfort. That would be the most persuasive showdown with Moscow that Churchill, supporting the Bevin speech, calls for. The Bevin initiative, as important in its way as Marshall's, should excite the same kind of response in America as Marshall's did in Europe."

"Although there are many great obstacles standing in the way of it," the *Washington Star* wrote, "events themselves argue logically and eloquently for an economic and political integration of Western Europe. In a long-term sense, such integration could speed up the eventual formation of an all-European union. In a short-term sense, it would seem to be an essential security measure against the unremitting Soviet drive to create an aggressive Eastern federation of satellite states and to proceed from there toward domination of the entire continent."

* * *

Kashmir

COMMENTING on the Kashmir situation, the *Kansas City Star* stressed that the dispute between India and Pakistan is one of great complexity.

"It consists (1) of charges first lodged with the Security Council by the Government of the Indian Union that Pakistan authorities have been actively and illegally assisting an armed invasion of Kashmir, part of the Union's domain, and (2) of counter-charges subsequently brought by the Government of Pakistan that Moslems living in the territory of the Union are being systematically murdered with the connivance of the Indian Government, and that the latter really is trying to destroy Pakistan.

"Back of this controversy lies not only centuries of religious strife between India's Hindus and Moslems but deep-seated suspicion on the part of the Moslems that the Hindus did not agree in good faith to partitioning of the sub-continent last August, when the British withdrew and turned their authority over to the two new domains.

"The Security Council already has decided to give the Kashmir question priority. And it is sending a mediation commission to this area of acute disturbance, where the Hindu maharaja of a predominantly Moslem state has elected to bring it into the Union of India—without consulting his subjects. The death toll in guerrilla fighting there now stands at many thousands. If, through its commission, the Security Council can produce a compromise acceptable to both sides and restore civil order, it will materially strengthen its prestige."

Who's Who in China

TAN PAO-SHEN (Tennyson Tan), Counsellor of the Chinese Embassy and Consul-General in London; born in 1897; studied in Virginia Military Institute, University of Minnesota, Uni-

Tsu Pao-shen

（谭保燊）

versity of California, B.S. 1922, and Howard Graduate School, 1923-34; taught in Wuhan University; secretary, Chinese Foreign Office, Canton and Hankow from 1925-27; secretary, Chinese Foreign Office, Nanking from 1927-28; vice-director of Bureau of Taxes of Chekiang and Kiangsu, 1928-29; secretary, Hankow Greater Municipality, 1929-30; professor, National Tsingtao University, 1930-32; technical expert of the Chinese Delegation to the League of Nations, Geneva, 1932-33; first secretary, Chinese Embassy, London, since 1932 and Consul-General since 1934; member of Pi Zeta Alpha of the University of California since 1921; author of "Political Status of Mongolia" (1931) and "Technical Collaboration Between the League of Nations and China" (1941); address: Chinese Embassy, London.

"Political weapon."

What Chinese Papers Say

THE *Ta Kung Pao* carried a strong editorial against the reported US plan for rehabilitating Japan's economy. The situation in Taiwan and the local student riots also were discussed.

* * *

Japan

COMMENTING on the reported plan of the United States for speeding up Japan's economic revival, the *Ta Kung Pao* declared editorially:

"The United States has worked out a naked and concrete plan for helping Japan to rehabilitate her economy. The memorandum on this plan has already been submitted to the Far Eastern Commission for examination.

"Although the contents of the plan have not yet been made public, judging by the fragmentary revelations, it is not difficult for us to see a general outline of the plan. This is a big plan for economic rehabilitation; it is a six or five-year plan for reconstruction. Beginning from July this year, the United States will lend US$500,000,000 or US$650,000,000 to Japan. In addition, she will make free investments in Japan totalling some US$2,000,000,000. When the plan is completely carried out, Japan will be restored to the industrial level which existed during the period 1930-34 (actually, this level will be exceeded), and according to the plan, during the last year Japan will export a tremendous quantity of commodities with a total value of US$1,400,000,000.

"Now, we wish to point out what the United States hopes to achieve. First, the large amount of money required by the plan will, of course, be invested by the United States. The US wants to control Japan's industries by exporting her capital, so that Japan's economic life will depend entirely upon her. In this way, Japan will become the 49th State of the USA. The US wants to include Japan in the dollar bloc, and then to use her as a strategic base. Fundamentally, this is a way of reviving Japan's traditional policy of having an industrialized Japan and an agricultural Asia; it will enable the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" to revive in another form. Naturally, the British bloc will be able to share in the advantages of this plan, for with Indian cotton and Australian wool, it will have capital with which to cooperate with Japan.

"Secondly, the central purpose of the plan is to develop Japan's iron and steel industry, so as to enable it to produce 3,000,000 tons of iron and steel annually, and also to develop her textile industry and the Asiatic market. At the same time, the plan calls for the development of the chemical fertilizer industry in Japan. Regarding these three industries, textiles are a weapon to be used in the peacetime struggle, while iron and steel and fertilizer are war materials. The American plan is very carefully worked out, for it is designed to enable Japan to dominate East Asia both in peacetime and wartime. The objective is to enable Japan to achieve domination rather than to solve the problem of the livelihood of the Japanese people.

"Thirdly, the economic significance of the industrial level which the plan is designed to achieve is to bring about an unbalanced development of the Japanese economy, so that Japan will have to depend upon the United States or the Anglo-American bloc for raw materials and food supplies and will not become self-sufficient, thus opening the Japanese market for American capitalists.

"Fourthly, Asiatic countries will be placed under an industrialized Japan. First of all, economic pressure will be brought to bear upon these countries. An extremely sharp weapon in the form of Japanese goods will be used against us for the purpose of destroying the defense works of the industries of Asiatic countries. This will then be followed by political and military pressure. The industries of Asiatic countries, especially those of China, will be unable to compete successfully with the Japanese industries, which are supported by America's huge capital, so that we shall never be able to raise our heads again.

"Moreover, we should solemnly piont out that this policy of the US towards Japan is self-contradictory, because according to the principles of the development of capitalism. Japan will eventually ask the US for independence for patriotic reasons.

"There is yet another reason why we oppose the United States' plan for rehabilitating the Japanese economy. Since the Japanese peace treaty has not yet been signed, Japan is still an enemy of the Allied nations. As one of the Allied nations, the US is now openly helping Japan, an enemy nation, to recover. This has no moral or treaty basis whatsoever. Under no circumstances must China endorse the United States' plan; China must flatly reject any pleasing words or favors and strongly oppose this plan."

* * *

Taiwan

DISCUSSING the situation in Taiwan, the *Sin Min Wan Pao* said: "On January 25 the *United Press* released a report concerning Taiwan, saying that a 'foreign observer,' having discovered that the Communist bandits in Taichung had distributed leaflets, pointed out that since the February 28, 1947, incident, the Taiwanese have nourished animosity against the Central Government and expressed the hope that Taiwan will either be put under the trusteeship of the United Nation or be annexed by the United States.

"It is necessary for us to take off the mask of this foreign observer.

"Since China's recovery of Taiwan, there have been four types of people who want to see disturbances created on that island, namely (1) Japanese ronins, (2) Communist bandits, (3) certain disgruntled elements in Taichung, and (4) a small number of American press correspondents and American junior army men. These Americans are of the opinion that since it was they who conquered Taiwan and since Taiwan is of great strategic importance, if the island cannot be put under the 'trusteeship of the United Nations,' it should be 'annexed by the United States.' Their main desire is the annexation of Taiwan by the United States, so they have been colluding with Japanese ronins, Communist bandits and disgruntled elements in Taichung with a view to achieving this end, intermittently spreading reports about unrest in Taiwan.

"We suspect the 'foreign observer' is only one of those who have been engaged in such activities.

"However, we are sure that the people of Taiwan are unwilling to be governed again by a foreign race and that the American Government will not go back on its word and want to annex Taiwan. So the efforts of these 'foreign observers' to create unrest in Taiwan by spreading rumors will be of no avail."

* * *

Student Riots

REGARDING the recent student riots at Tung Chi University, the *Chung Hwa Shih Pao* said. "Regardless of what the facts of this case are and which side is in the right and which side is in the wrong, the fact that a group of university students manhandled the highest local administrative official, whom they had invited to mediate, has certainly caused these students to lose the sympathy of the general public.

"Moreover, the only method of dealing with student unrest adopted by the authorities of certain educational institutions has been the dismissal of those students who have served as student leaders. We strongly feel that this is not the correct method, for the dismissal of the student leaders will not help to settle the student unrest, but will, instead, enlarge it. This is because those who are qualified to serve as student leaders more or less command the support of some of the students of the educational institution. If we make a study of the present prominent leaders in the political and educational fields, we shall find that many of them in their student days were adept in stirring up student unrest and were dismissed by their school authorities. We have mentioned this fact for the reference of the educational authorities."

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